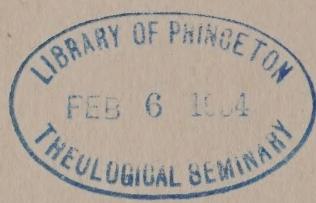


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THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

PROLEGOMENA

By
SOLOMON ✓ ZEITLIN, Ph.D.



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To

Doctor Cyrus Adler

Who has given and is giving the best years of his life to the advancement of higher Jewish scholarship. In the world of affairs he is steering the ship of Jewish Destiny through stormy waters, guided by the spirit of the policies of the early Hasmoneans.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
I—Alexander the Great.....	3
II—The Jews and the Ptolemies.....	6
III—The Jews and the Seleucides.....	11
IV—The Hellenistic Party.....	18
V—The Temple of Onias.....	26
VI—The Desecration of the Temple.....	29
VII—The Hasmoneans.....	33
VIII—The Origin of the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes.....	41
Appendices	
A.—Sanballat the Samaritan.....	57
B.—The Jews in Alexandria.....	58
C.—The Sons of Joseph.....	62
D.—The Letters of Lysias and Antiochus to the Jews.....	66
E.— <i>δῆμοι ιδμαί</i>	69
F.—The Jewish Calendar of the Pre-Maccabean Period.....	71
G.—Chronological Table	77

PREFACE

Hellenism and Judaism first came into close contact with each other in 332-1 B. C. E. when the Alexandrian armies after a series of conquests, triumphantly entered Syria. Little Judea had become their prey after they had crushed the great Persian army.

The two civilizations met not as equals, but as conqueror and vanquished. The Hellenic regime endeavored to impose its civilization and culture upon its conquered peoples.

When Judea came under the Macedonian rule, the Hellenes exerted their utmost power to crush the Jewish civilization on the penalty of being annihilated as a people. The Judeans not only repelled Macedonian attempts to crush their civilization but were successful in gaining national independence and even of developing a Jewish culture to a high degree. Jewish civilization reached its culmination point during this period.

While the Hellenes were attempting to annihilate Jewish civilization they themselves were influenced by Judean culture, especially during the migrations of Jews to the cities on the Mediterranean coast inhabited by the Greeks.

In the last century and a half before the Christian Era, the Romans extended their conquests from Greece proper to the Hellenistic states on the Mediterranean coast. After the third Punic War when the entire territory of Carthage became a Roman province, the Romans launched a policy of conquest and annexation. One state after another fell victim to the power of Rome. Less than a century after the last Punic War the Romans became the masters of the West as well as of the East. The Hellenistic culture which had exercised a great influence upon the Romans thus extended beyond the limits to which the Greek nation expanded. When the entire East became a Roman possession, the Jewish state likewise was automatically subordinated to the Romans. The Jews dwelt alongside of the Hellenes, in many

cities in Asia Minor and along the Mediterranean coast which were under Roman rule. Roman thought was influenced through the Hellenized Jews and an entire revolution in the civilization of Rome was thus fomented. Through these Hellenized Jews, the creation of a Western civilization took place, transforming barbarians into civilized beings. I have in mind here the fall of paganism and the rise of Christianity, which later revolutionized the entire civilization of the West and manifested itself during the first millennium in every branch of human thought. This change in Western civilization is largely due to the influence of Judaism which made itself felt in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

On Jewish history during the Hellenistic and Roman periods a voluminous literature exists. This literature, however, was written by students who were primarily interested in the origin of Christianity. Consequently these studies were written from a theological point of view. It cannot be denied that religion played an important role in shaping the historic processes, but it must also be admitted that other forces, too, played their part in the making of historic events. Particularly true is this of social and economic institutions. Even institutions of a purely religious character may be traced in their origin to social and economic causes.*

We have a comprehensive history of the Jewish people from the earliest period up to almost our modern time written by Graetz, the most illustrious modern Jewish historian. But his history is already antiquated, for it was written over half a century ago. Since that time much new material has been brought to light by recent excavations, the Genizah and by dawn of scientific Jewish historiography.

Furthermore, I believe that Jewish history can not be written by a single man, for it began with the Assyro-Babylonian civilization and branched out into present day culture. Since a historian

*Comp. the writer's essays, "The Origin of the Synagogue," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*; "The Am Haarez," *JQR*, 1932; and "The Origin of the Ketubah," *JQR*, 1933.)

must be well versed in the sources which form the basis of his material, no one person is in a position to become thoroughly familiar with every civilization, for such knowledge must be based on original sources from very ancient times up to the present day. Therefore, Jewish history which touches the entire history of the world, should be written by experts in the different periods and the various aspects of Jewish history. A history of the Jews cannot be written by having it isolated from histories of other nations, for it is interwoven with the civilization of other peoples. Even the history of the Jews during the second Commonwealth, when the bulk of the Jewish people was in Palestine, and constituted a nation *εθνος* by itself, with its own government, cannot be treated separately from the history of the Hellenes and Romans. There is even more so in the case of the history of the Jews in the Diaspora, i. e., since the days of the Babylonian captivity, when they lived in the Pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian countries. In these countries, Jews in addition to making their own history, also contributed largely as residents and citizens, toward upbuilding the different institutions of the respective countries they inhabited.

The pages of Jewish history are crowded with great personalities. Their achievements in literature, and their logomachies in the field of theology raised dust to high heaven. Therefore, Jewish history is replete with the biographies of such men as Saadiah Gaon, Rashi, Maimonides, Luzzato, and others. But history in the form of "biographical sketches" can give us little more than the account of an individual life. It acquaints us with a personality, while leaving us in utter ignorance of the fate of the people.

It is true that the leader moulds the processes of history, but in reality the people are the rulers. They are responsible for the conditions by which they have been enthralled, as well as for the means by which they have been redeemed. They forge their own chains; and they alone can break them asunder. The leader is the product of the people, and is thrust into his leadership by a combination of forces and ideas. He is the captain of the ship of State, and must know how to steer the vessel. This he does by properly understanding their psychology, and by the right

use of all manner of strategy. Above all, he himself must never give way to emotion. He must understand mass psychology; he must not be overwhelmed by it; he must be able to control it. The leader of the people must know how to guide their destiny, and therefore, although he does not create history, he shifts the direction of history, and upon him rests the responsibility to steer the ship of State to a safe port.

Jewish history has likewise also been written from the point of view of literature. Much of Jewish history is devoted to the literary activities of great personages; for instance, Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Ezra, David Kimhi, and others. History is not a branch of literature.

Most of the pages of the Jewish history do not belong to the history of the people as such; they are rather a part of the *Literatur geschichte* of the respective periods with which they deal. It is true the facts of history are recorded in literature, but only as the data of any sciences are tabulated. The literary productions which have come down to us from antiquity are of great importance, for they show the progress of society and the life of the times. History must deal with all branches of human activities, such as social, economic, political, religious, philosophical, legal, as well as the literary.**

In this book I have tried to describe the political and economic forces which operated to divide the Jewish people into two factions during the wars between Syria and Egypt, the one favoring the Ptolemies and the other the Seleucides. I have attempted to analyse the underlying forces which brought about the emergence of the Hellenistic party under the leadership of Menelaus and its policy toward the Jewish State; the revolt under Hasmonean leadership on the one hand against the Hellenists who were committed to a policy of assimilation, and on the other hand against the Hassidim whose philosophy would ultimately have resulted in national suicide; and, finally, the establishment of the Jewish State on a more democratic basis.

**On the literature of the pre-Maccabean period, see the writer's essay, *An Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, pp. 21-36, 1933.

In the Eighth chapter I trace the origins of the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes—the three sects which existed among the Jews at the time of the Second Commonwealth. There is almost a complete library of literature on these three sects, particularly on the Pharisees. Again, this literature was written mostly by students of the New Testament. Since the history of the sects is indispensable for a thorough understanding of primitive Christianity, these histories were written subjectively, and, hence, some of them very much biased. To be true history, the record of human events must not be written from a biased point of view. These writers gave their preference to one set of sources—Josephus, the New Testament, and the Apocryphal literature. Some of them ignored the tannaitic literature, the product of the Pharisees, or did not fully comprehend the tannaitic sources in the original language. There is a saying that in order to know the poet you must go to the country of his birth. Similarly if one wants to know the Pharisees, one must make a thorough study of the tannaitic literature which is the product of the Pharisees themselves. In this volume I do not exhaust the history and development of the sects, as I intend to present only their origin, and to exhibit the true character of the Pharisees as revealed in the tannaitic literature. However, I do not ignore the other sources. The development of these sects I will give in due time in another volume dealing with the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. Though I endeavor to establish that there was no such sect as the "Pharisees," nevertheless I use the word "Pharisees" for the sake of convenience.

To make this book more acceptable to the laity I deemed it necessary to give the more scholarly discussions on which my theories are based at the end of the volume in the appendices. In Appendix C, I endeavor to prove that Menelaus was the son of Joseph and was of the priestly family. With this I think that new light is thrown on the Jewish history of the pre-Maccabean period.

This volume is an introductory study to the history of the Second Jewish Commonwealth which I am contemplating publishing in the near future, and will comprise the history from the Hasmonean period to the destruction of the Temple.

A full bibliography of the literature on the Hellenistic period and on the sects has not been included in this essay since all this literature can be found readily in Schürer, "*Geschichte d. Jüdischen Volkes in Zeitalter Jesu Christi*," Volumes I and II, and Moore, "*Judaism*," Volumes I-III. More recent literature may be obtained in the various encyclopedias, particularly in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

A part of this volume was published in the Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research.

This volume is dedicated to Dr. Cyrus Adler, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

September, 13, 1933.

SOLOMON ZEITLIN

INTRODUCTION

A certain man, according to the historian Josephus, whose name was Joseph, the son of Tobiah, played an important role in the history of the Jews during the Hellenistic period. The Tobias family, of which this Joseph was a member, was a dominant factor in the struggle between the High Priest Jason and his opponent Onias.

Josephus relates in his "Antiquities," XII,¹ that the High Priest Onias I refused to pay the taxes due from him to Ptolemy III. Thereupon, the governor of Jerusalem threatened to destroy the city. Joseph, the son of *Tobiah*, the nephew of this Onias, upon arriving in the city, heard that Jerusalem was in danger because the taxes due Egypt had not been paid. He reproached his uncle, Onias, for exposing Jerusalem to so great a calamity. The High Priest permitted Joseph to go to Alexandria to try to pacify the King. On his arrival in Egypt, Joseph found that he did not have the necessary funds to gain high favor in the royal Court. He approached his friends in Samaria to obtain a loan, which they granted him. In time he found favor in the eyes of the Court of Alexandria, and later was appointed the tax-collector not only of Judea but of Coelo-Syria as well^{1a} While he was in

¹ With regard to the question as to what source Josephus used for his account of Joseph the son of Tobiah in *Antiquities*, XII, 4, 2-10, scholars differ. Büchler (*Die Tobiadens und die Oniaden*) and Willrich (*Die Jüden und Griechen*) are of the opinion that it was a Samaritan source, while Eduard Meyer (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*) holds that it is a Jewish source. Tscherikower in his book, (which I think is one of the most important books on the history of the Jews of the Hellenistic period) suggests quite correctly that in addition to other sources Josephus used the chronicles which were written by one of the members of the Tobias family.

^{1a} Tscherikower, is quite right in his assumption that Joseph was in Egypt twice. The first time when he went there to try to pacify the king, and the second time approximately in the year 230-27, with the idea of getting the appointment as tax collector of Judea and of Coelo-Syria.

Egypt, Josephus further informs us, Joseph, the son of Tobiah, fell in love with a courtesan. In order to win her, he sought the aid of his brother who chanced to be in Alexandria at the time. This brother, hoping to prevent Joseph from transgressing the Jewish law, one night while Joseph was intoxicated brought his own daughter to him in the place of the courtesan. From this union there was born to them a son who was called Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus was the most beloved of Joseph's sons, and aroused the jealousy of his brothers.

This story of Joseph, and his activities in Egypt, is full of anachronisms. Josephus, in his narrative, makes Joseph the tax-collector of Coelo-Syria in the time of Antiochus III. But, at that time, Coelo-Syria was not under Egyptian rule, but was in the possession of the Syrians. Furthermore, Josephus gives the name of the wife of Ptolemy III as Cleopatra, when, in truth, her name was Berenice. The account given by Josephus is undoubtedly interspersed with legends. Therefore many scholars maintain that the entire story of Joseph and the Tobias family is of a legendary nature.²

Although the story as given by Josephus is ambiguous, I believe that it cannot be entirely dismissed as a myth. Throughout the writings of Josephus, we find many historical accounts replete with anachronisms; nevertheless, we cannot dismiss the historical data of his narrative as completely spurious. We can illustrate this by the following example. Josephus tells us, in *Bellum Judaicum*, 1, 22, 2, that Herod instructed the Gauls to drown the High Priest Aristobulus. This took place, we know, in 35 B.C.E. But, it is known that Herod first received the Gauls from Octavius Caesar in the year 30 B.C.E. after the death of Cleopatra,³ five years after the real drowning of Aristobulus. Therefore, Herod could not have instructed the Gauls to commit this act. This anachronism, however, does not negate the essential fact in the story of Aristobulus, namely, that he was drowned.

Although Josephus may have interwoven many anachronisms and much legendary material with his account of the Tobias

² See Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 231.

³ Ant. XV, 7, 3, B. J. I, 20, 3.

family, I believe, nevertheless, that the Tobias family is not a figment of the imagination. The fact is that we do find in the Zeno-Papyri⁴ the mention of a man by the name of Tobiah, who was an official in the Alexandrian Court, and in that capacity supplied horses to Ptolemy II. Moreover, the author of the Second Book of Maccabees states that a man by the name of Hyrcanus, son of Tobiah (the family of Tobias) was a loyal supporter of the Ptolemies.⁵ This, I believe, would substantiate the essential truth of the narrative as given by Josephus concerning the Tobias family.

The question now arises: Who was this Joseph, son of Tobiah? And, what part did the Tobias family play in shaping Jewish history during the Hellenistic period? Furthermore, what were the underlying reasons which compelled the Tobias family to side with the Syrian Court against the Egyptians? Particularly what caused the Jewish reaction against the Tobias family, with their attempted *Hellenization* of Judea? It was this reaction which brought about the ultimate victory of the Maccabees over the Syrians, and resulted in the establishment of an independent Jewish State. To possess an adequate understanding of the part the Tobias family played in Jewish history, it is necessary to survey briefly the history of the Jews, beginning with the conquest of Judea by Alexander the Great.

I

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

After the Battle of Issus in the year 332 B.C.E., Alexander marched with his army along the Phoenician coast towards Egypt. The only city on the Phoenician coast which would not submit to Alexander was Tyre. After a siege of seven months,⁶ the city was conquered, and the entire plain was laid open for Alexander's

⁴ Zeno Papyri, pub. by Edgar, 1919.

⁵ II Macc. 3, 11. Comp. also below ch. IV.

⁶ Diodorus, XVII, 4; Ant. XI, 8, 4.

armies to march on into Egypt. Alexander continued his journey towards his objective by the immemorial route along the Mediterranean coast. In the course of his expedition, he met with opposition from the city of Gaza,⁷ which he successfully overcame in the Autumn of 332 B.C.E. A talmudic story relates that Simon, the High Priest, came out of Jerusalem to welcome Alexander to the city. Alexander is supposed to have offered sacrifices to God in the Temple of Jerusalem as a token of appreciation for the hearty welcome accorded him by the Jews.⁸ But this story is undoubtedly legendary. Alexander did not visit Jerusalem. He went directly from Tyre by way of Gaza to Egypt, and visited neither Samaria nor Jerusalem.⁹ Moreover, the High Priest in Jerusalem at the time of Alexander's expedition was not Simon but Jaddua.¹⁰

It is very likely that, before Tyre had been conquered by the Macedonian, the High Priest Jaddua did not join Alexander because of the uncertainty which marked the relations between Persia and Macedonia. But after Tyre had been crushed by Alexander, the High Priest of Jerusalem deemed it advantageous to the interests of his country to submit to the conquering Greek. To pacify the King and to win his confidence, the High Priest Jaddua, together with the Elders of Jerusalem, all dressed in white garments, came as a delegation to present themselves before Alexander. The Jews demonstrated their loyalty to the King, and showed their readiness to obey the Macedonian rule. This impressed the King deeply, and in his turn he favored the Jews with immunity from taxes for the year 332–331, in as much as it chanced to be a sabbatical year.^{10a}

Sanballat, the leader of the Samaritans, thought the moment ripe for the realization of an old dream—building their own Temple on Mount Gerizim. In order to gain favor in the eyes of

⁷ Arrian, II, 25–26; Ant. Ibid.

⁸ Joma 69a; Elsewhere I pointed out that the story told in the Talmud that the High Priest Simon welcomed Alexander to Jerusalem refers to the welcome that Simon the Just gave to Antiochus III. See נר מסרבי נ' 1924.

⁹ According to Arrian II Alexander appointed Manon as a satrap over Coele Syria. Comp. also, Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*.

¹⁰ Josephus, Ant. XI, 8, 4.

^{10a} 332–31 was a sabbatical year, see S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit* ch. III.

Alexander, he gathered an army of seven thousand men, and joined the Macedonian in his attack upon Tyre. Sanballat now felt that he could justly plead before Alexander that the Samaritans be permitted to build a Temple on their sacred Mount,¹¹ in competition with the Temple of Jerusalem, although Alexander gave the requested permission he favored the Jews more than the Samaritans. In addition to being a military genius, Alexander was a "realpolitiker," and he was fully aware of the fact that, if he was to gain the confidence and support of the Jews in the Diaspora in his military campaign against Darius, he would find it most advisable to favor the Jews in Judea beyond their enemies the Samaritans.

Although Judea was a much smaller and less prosperous territory than Samaria, Alexander favored it over its rival. The bulk of the Jews lived outside of Judea in such countries as Babylonia, Persia, and in the cities along the Mediterranean coast. Hence, Alexander sought the good-will of these Jews of the Diaspora by favoring Jerusalem and the inhabitants of Judea.¹² Moreover, he exempted the Jews from paying tribute for the annexed district as well as for Judea for the year 332-331 B.C.E.¹³ This was a general policy of Alexander—to free the cities from payment of taxes to the Persian King. He was anxious to appear in the eyes of the conquered people in the garb of a liberator.

Alexander died suddenly in the Summer of 323.¹⁴ His death came before he could complete the reorganization of the new Empire. Upon his death, the entire Empire of the mighty Greek was divided into provinces. Egypt was entrusted to Ptolemy. But Ptolemy, on receiving Egypt as his province, was not satisfied. He immediately overstepped his trust,¹⁵ and showed ambition to become King of Egypt.

¹¹ See Appendix A.

¹² It is probable that a district of Samaria consisting of three cities, Apahaerema, Lydda, and Ramathim, was added by Alexander to Judea, and this was confirmed by Demetrius II in his letter to Jonathan. I Macc. 10, 30. Comp. Tal. San. 91a.

¹³ Ant. XI.

¹⁴ Josephus C. Ap., I, 22; See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II, 176.

¹⁵ Ant. XII, 1, 1.

II

THE JEWS AND THE PTOLEMIES

Ptolemy, in order to strengthen his position in Egypt and to prevent an attack by the Syrians, invaded Palestine and Phoenicia,¹⁶ and captured the satrap Laomedon. In the year 320 he captured Jerusalem, entering the city on the Sabbath¹⁷ when the Jews, because of the old halakah that prohibited them from carrying arms upon the Sabbath, could not resist him with arms. Ptolemy, however, could not tarry long in Palestine because the army of Antigonus was approaching by land. He thought it best to retreat to Egypt.¹⁸ In 312 Ptolemy, together with Seleucus, defeated the fleet of Demetrius (Antigonus' son) opposite Gaza, and thus became again master of Judea and Phoenicia.¹⁹ When Ptolemy learned of Antigonus' approach to Phoenicia and Judea with a large army, he decided not to wage war with Antigonus on Phoenician territory, but to return to Egypt where he could more advantageously defend himself.²⁰

Upon retreating from Coelo-Syria, Ptolemy destroyed many cities, among them, Samaria, Joppa, and Gaza.^{20a} There is no mention in the sources that Jerusalem was laid waste by Ptolemy, yet we may safely assume that Jerusalem suffered as much as the other cities. He carried with him into Egypt many Jews whom he distributed among his various military camps. Some of them he took with him to his capital, Alexandria. In addition to the Jewish captives, he also invited many Jews of the aristocratic class to settle in Alexandria. Among the latter were many priests; and one of particular distinction was Hezekiah, a member of the family of High Priests.²¹

In 303 an alliance was formed between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. According to the treaty which est-

¹⁶ Diodorus, XVIII, 3; See also Bevan, *The History of Egypt*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Ant. XII, 1, 1.

¹⁸ Diodorus, *ibid.*, Bevan, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Diodorus, XIX, 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

^{20a} Ibid.

²¹ C. Ap., 1, 22.

ablished this alliance, Coelo-Syria (which included Phoenicia and Judea) was assigned to Ptolemy. The next year Ptolemy took possession of and established himself in Phoenicia and Judea. But when he received a message that Lysimachus had been defeated by Antigonus, he hastily gave up Judea.²² In 301 the army of Antigonus was completely destroyed in the Battle of Ipsus, and the former Empire of Alexander underwent another division. Syria, including Judea, was now given to Seleucus²³. Since Ptolemy did not participate in the battle against Antigonus, Seleucus and his allies were of the opinion that Ptolemy had deserted the common cause and that his claim upon Judea, by reason of the earlier treaty, was forfeited. When Seleucus attempted to take possession of the territory assigned him, he found that Judea had already been occupied by Ptolemy. The only thing that remained for Seleucus to do was to wage war against Ptolemy. But, since Ptolemy had been his old ally to whom he was indebted for the success of his career, he declared that for the present he would not take any active military measures against Ptolemy. But he did not renounce his rights to Coelo-Syria.²⁴ Thus Coelo-Syria remained an unsettled issue between the two kingdoms, Syria and Egypt for a long time. The Syrian King, Seleucus, did not surrender his rights to Judea and Phoenicia as given him by the Treaty of 301, while the Ptolemies maintained that in the pre-war Treaty of 303, Judea and Phoenicia had been assigned to them. Furthermore, they also claimed that Seleucus had confirmed their right to Phoenicia and Judea as the price of neutrality by Ptolemy in the war between Lysimachus and Seleucus.

The Ptolemies followed Alexander's policy of tolerance toward other religions. They never forced Hellenism upon the conquered peoples. The means they adopted to Hellenize the subject nations

²² Diodorus, XX, 5; See Bevan, op. cit. p. 32.

²³ The allies after their victory over Antigonus decided that the whole of Syria should be transferred to Seleucus. Polybius, V, 67.

²⁴ According Bouch -Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1, Ptolemy took possession of Coelo-Syria only in the year 281 after the death of Seleucus.

were the spreading of culture and the building of cities.²⁵ To facilitate their work the Ptolemies invited Greeks to settle in the Orient and granted them special privileges. Some of the cities were permitted to issue their own coinage; this was the case with Gaza. Commerce was helped to flourish, and cities began to grow. But these Hellenistic cities were populated not only by Greeks, but by other races as well, among them Jews. As a result of the constant warfare waged between Ptolemy and Seleucus, many of the inhabitants of these cities were slaves who were employed mainly in the fields and workshops.

The Ptolemies strove to make the city of Alexandria another Athens in culture and commerce. A deep harbor was built from which vessels, carrying Egyptian goods, made their way to India and China via the Red Sea, and to Byzantine on the Black Sea. Alexandria became the world's greatest market for the slave traffic. By reason of the fact that slaves were brought from various countries, especially from Syria and Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that Alexandria contained a great number of Jewish slaves.

That Alexandria might excel even Athens in culture, the Ptolemies invited to their residence great scholars, poets, writers, and sculptors. A library was founded in a magnificent building; it later became the greatest library in the ancient world. A museum (a house for the muses) was established, and associated with it was a Society of Scholars, men of letters, who devoted their entire life to Science and Philosophy.²⁶ For scientific research a library as well as a zoological garden were placed at their disposal. It was the first Society of this type ever maintained by the State. The State was intensely interested in Hellenizing the diverse elements of the population, and to that end established elementary schools where the inhabitants were taught the Greek

²⁵ Philadelphia (Rabbath-Amon) in Transjordania; Philoterria on the Lake Genesareth; Ptolomais (Ake). See Tscherikower, *היהודים והיונים, רושלים, תרツא*.

²⁶ See Strabo, Geography, XVII Bevan, op. cit. Rostovzeff, *A History of the ancient world*, XXV; Mohaffy, Empire of Ptolemies.

language. In this way the State hoped to mould the different races into a homogeneous group. The privileged class among the Jews hungrily absorbed the Hellenistic culture, learned to speak Greek, and gradually became assimilated to the people among whom they lived. Their children grew up in this environment. Without the Greek language and culture, the members of this class could not have felt at home.

Tradition has it that Ptolemy Philadelphus became interested in the Hebrew Bible, and asked Eleazar the High Priest to send him men of learning to translate it into Greek. Accordingly, the High Priest sent him seventy-two men, and the translation was made which has come down to us as the "Septuagint." This story that seventy-two elders were sent by Eleazar²⁷ to Alexandria may or may not be historically true, but that the Pentateuch was translated in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus seems to be a historical fact.²⁸ This translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, I believe, was not brought about by Ptolemy but by the Jews themselves. Most of the Jews of the privileged class did not speak nor understand Hebrew, having been reared in an environment of Greek culture, and it was therefore necessary to have the Bible translated into the language they spoke.²⁹ There was another reason, moreover, that might help to explain the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular at this time; a reason sinister in its import. At that time, a Greek Egyptian historian, Manetho by name, wrote a history of Egypt in Greek. In this history he accused the Jews of having been expelled from Egypt in the days of the Pharoahs because of leprosy.³⁰ The Jews of Alexandria wanted their fellow-citizens

²⁷ Letter of Aristoeas; Jos. Ant. XII, 2. Talmud Meg. 9a. According to one tradition given in the Talmud, seventy-two men translated the Pentateuch, while according to another tradition 5 elders had translated the Torah. Sof. 1, 7.)

²⁸ According to the late Prof. M. L. Margolis, Joshua was also translated at the same time as the Torah.

²⁹ The Jews of Alexandria were called Alexandrians and Josephus designated them by this name. B. J. II, 18, 7, 19. See Appendix B.

³⁰ C. Ap. I. Manetho was the first person who wrote against the Jews. Part of his writings is quoted by Josephus in *Contra Apion*. Comp. Stähelin. *Der Antisemitismus des Altertums*.

to know that they had not been driven out of Egypt because of leprosy, but had gone out of their own free-will. They sought also to impress their neighbors with the antiquity of the Jewish race, and the glory of their history. They desired, furthermore, to exalt their past by emulating the great Law-giver and Philosopher of their people, Moses. They sought, therefore, to uncover the treasury of the Bible and make its splendors accessible to the Hellenists. The Ptolemaic Court was pleased with the idea that the Jews were translating their sacred Book into Greek, for this fitted in with their general policy of Hellenization.

Striving to make Alexandria a new Athens which should become a center of the world and dominate the culture of the times, the Ptolemies, not only invited and encouraged men of letters and Philosophers to settle there, they endeavored to meet the cultural needs of the different races which lived in Alexandria by sponsoring editions of various works in Greek. The purpose of this policy was undoubtedly to make the different racial groups independent of their mother countries. The translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek was favored by the Ptolemies because, in the study of their sacred books, it made the Alexandrian Jews independent of Jerusalem.³¹ For the same reason, Josephus tells us, Ptolemy I imported a priest by the name of Hezekiah, of the High Priestly family, in order to give the Jews of Alexandria firmer ground for their independent religious life.³² Furthermore, Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III gave the Jewish Proseguhe (Synagogue) the status of an Asylum, thus setting it on a par with the Greek and Egyptian Temples.³³

³¹ It is possible that the Pentateuch was not only translated but was also transliterated into Greek for the benefit of the Jews who wanted to read the Torah in the sacred tongue but were unable to read the Hebrew script. See Gaster, *The Samaritans*. See L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; F. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*, 1925.

³² C. Ap. 11.

³³ S. Zeitlin, *The Origin of the Synagogue*, p. 79, Note 39. Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research, 1930-1931.

III

THE JEWS AND THE SELEUCIDES

In the year 247-6 Ptolemy Philadelphus died. His son succeeded him under the name of Ptolemy Euergetes. In the first year of his reign he led his army against Seleucus in Syria to avenge the murder of his sister, Berenice.³⁴ He conquered the entire country as far as the Taurus, and then returned to Egypt. (According to Josephus, Ptolemy stopped in Jerusalem on his homeward journey to bring sacrifices to the Temple as a token of gratefulness for his victory over Seleucus.)³⁵ In the year 242, however, the tide turned against Ptolemy, for Seleucus, with his army, crossed the Taurus, and recovered most of the Seleucidae-Syria.³⁶ Two years later a peace treaty was signed between Seleucus and Ptolemy. Unlike the previous wars between the Egyptians and the Syrians, this war, known as the *Laodicean War*,³⁷ was not fought on Palestinian soil. Nevertheless, the Jews must have suffered greatly, and were quite hesitant as to whether to throw in their fortunes with the Syrians or the Egyptians.

Polybius³⁸ tells us that the Syrian people favored the Ptolemies rather than the Seleucids in the struggle for the domination of Syria. This statement of Polybius, I believe, does not refer to the Jewish population of Palestine. With the exception of the wealthier class of Jews who had business relations with Egypt, we may safely assume that the bulk of the Jews especially the High Priest favored the Seleucides. The reason for this attitude is readily understood. Since the time of the Restoration up to the year 301, the Palestinian Jews and the Jews of the Diaspora were united and lived under one rule, first under the Persian regime, and then under Alexander. After the latter's death,

³⁴ Justin, XXVII, 1. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Chap. X; Idem. *History of Egypt*, Chap. VII.

³⁵ C. Ap. II, 5.

³⁶ Justin, XXVII, 2; Bevan, op. cit.

³⁷ As it was called in ancient times Laodicean War, the war against the Queen Laodice, the mother of Seleucus II, the murderer of Berenice, the sister of Ptolemy. Comp. Daniel, XI, 6-9.

³⁸ Polybius, V, 86.

Coelo-Syria and Babylon were united, at first under Antigonus, and later under Seleucus. The Babylonian Jews in their religion were closer to the Palestinian Jews than were the Jews of Egypt. From the Babylonian and Persian Jews came the main support for the Temple in Jerusalem. The Babylonian Jews spoke an Aramaic which was similar to that of the Palestinian Jews. Therefore Palestine Jewry felt a deeper bond of kinship with Babylonian Jewry than with the Jews of Alexandria who spoke Greek, a language foreign to the psychology of the Palestinian Jews. The Temple administration was more interested that the two Jewries, Palestinian and Babylonian, should be united under the one flag of the Seleucides. For it well knew that, if Palestine should be united with Egypt, the Temple would lose great income, since the Jews of Babylon would find it difficult to continue their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or to send their gifts and sacrifices to the Temple. Therefore, in the conflict between Ptolemy III and Seleucus, the High Priest whose name was Onias II allied himself with the Syrian King.

When Seleucus crossed the Taurus in 242 and defeated Ptolemy III, Onias II, who was sympathetic to the Syrian cause, now refused to pay his tribute of 20 talents to Ptolemy.³⁹ (This small sum, apparently, was paid by the High Priest as a personal tribute).⁴⁰ Ptolemy, thereupon, sent a representative to Jerusalem to threaten the High Priest with seizure of the country if the latter failed to pay his taxes. The High Priest stood by his decision, and would not pay the taxes. It was for this act that he was reproached by his nephew, Joseph, the son of Tobiah, who said that he was endangering his country.⁴¹ Joseph, as well as his father Tobiah, had business connections with the Ptolemaic Court, and thought it more advisable to stand in well with the Ptolemies. Joseph was of the opinion that Palestine would benefit more commercially from alliance with Egypt than with Babylonia, for Egypt controlled the Mediterranean coast while Babylonia was far inland. The uncle and the nephew approached this problem from different points of view, dictated by their

³⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* XII, 4, 1.

⁴⁰ See Tscherikower, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Josephus, *Ibid.*

different interests. Although the High Priest could not subscribe to his nephew's view, he was willing to permit him to take the situation in his own hands. Thereupon, Joseph called an Ecclesia⁴² (an assembly) of the leaders in the Temple, and exhorted them to be loyal to the Ptolemies. He proposed that he himself go as ambassador to Ptolemy in order to demonstrate to him the goodwill of the Jews.

Joseph, having perusaded the governer of Jerusalem, embarked for Alexandria to meet the King. His intention, apparently, was to become tax-collector of Judea, which position was held by his uncle, the High Priest. While in Alexandria, Joseph became friendly with the members of the Court, and aspired, through bribery, to become the tax-collector of Coelo-Syria. For this, however, he needed money. This he was able to borrow from his friends in Samaria; for, although there was great animosity between the Jews and the Samaritans, this did not prevent Joseph from obtaining funds from his Samaritan friends, for commerce often transcends inimical national differences. With this money he was able to bribe members of the Alexandrian Court, and was appointed the head tax-collector of entire Coelo-Syria.⁴³ In order that he might find it easier to collect the taxes, Ptolemy supplied him with a military force.⁴⁴

In this position Joseph amassed a large fortune, and became one of the wealthiest men of Coelo-Syria. Jerusalem, which was an obscure city surrounded by the Judean hills, became important because there the head tax-collector had his seat. Many of the sub-collectors and principal men travelled to Jerusalem, and some of them even had their domiciles in the city. With the advent of Joseph as tax-collector, the life of the Jews underwent a great change. Prior to the days of Joseph, Jewish life was largely guided by the spiritual leader in the person of the High Priest of the Temple. When Joseph appeared on the scene in Jerusalem, the leadership passed on to him, and later to his sons who are known as "sons of Tobias." Thus the leadership

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Joseph had been appointed to the position of tax collector later circa 230-27. See Tscherikower, op. cit. pp. 169-70.

⁴⁴ See Josephus, Ibid.

of the community passed from the hands of the Pontiff, the spiritual leader, to the head tax-collector, representative of the wealthy class whose dominant interest lay in the commerce of the country.

The Jews as a whole had practically no intercourse with the Ptolemaic Court, or with the Hellenistic cities of Coelo-Syria. But Joseph and his hirelings were in frequent contact with the Alexandrian Court, and mingled quite often with the Greek aristocracy, thus being constantly influenced by the cultural environment. Through social and economic forces, the wealthy class became more and more Hellenized. This eventually caused the assimilation of the family of the "sons of Tobias," and the other members of the wealth-owning group. Their language apparently was Greek. Their entire mode of life was that of the Hellenes.

In the year 221 Ptolemy III died,^{44a} and was succeeded by his son who came to the throne as Ptolemy IV, called Ptolemy Philopator. Two years prior to the death of Ptolemy III, Seleucus III had passed away, and had been succeeded by Antiochus III. Antiochus felt that this was the proper time for him to recapture Coelo-Syria from the Ptolemies. In 220 the Syrian army marched upon Coelo-Syria, and in the Spring of the following year, Antiochus conquered most of the important cities in Coelo-Syria, and Transjordania. The Egyptian army was routed. However, in 217 the tide of battle changed, and at Raphia Antiochus' army was completely crushed. Coelo-Syria and Palestine passed again to the House of the Ptolemies.

In this conflict between Antiochus and Ptolemy, the Jews sided with the latter. Joseph, the son of Tobiah, was the head tax-collector for the Ptolemaic Court, and at the time was also leader of the Jews. In the third Book of the Maccabees a story is told to the effect that Ptolemy, after his great victory over the Syrian army, visited Jerusalem. The King tried to enter the Temple but was prevented by the Jews. This aroused his ire against them.⁴⁵ Although the third Book of the Maccabees is

^{44a} According to Justin, he was murdered by his son, see Pol. II.

⁴⁵ See III Maccabees, 2-3.

not a historical work, but primarily theological,⁴⁶ we may assume, nevertheless, that Ptolemy was in Jerusalem. Polybius tells us that Ptolemy, after the Battle of Raphia, spent three months in Coelo-Syria.⁴⁷ In all probability, Ptolemy, during this long stay in Coelo-Syria, visited Jerusalem, for it was the capital of the Jewish State, and the headquarters of the head tax-collector of Coelo-Syria. It is reasonable to suppose therefore, that Ptolemy Philopator while in Jerusalem, would have a desire to visit the Temple, especially since he was himself considered as a divinity and was worshipped alongside the gods in almost every Temple in Egypt.⁴⁸ However, that he entered the Temple in Jerusalem, or was prevented from doing so by the Jews, is a matter of pure conjecture.

In the year 210-209 a son was born to Ptolemy Philopator. Joseph, who was already advanced in age and could not very well attend the birthday celebration given at the Court by the King in honor of his son, delegated his son Hyrcanus to go in his stead.⁴⁹ Hyrcanus resembled his father. He was energetic, shrewd, persistent, and ambitious. While in Alexandria, he spent his father's money very freely among the officials of the Court, in order to make contacts and establish favorable relations; this with an eye to succeed his father in the office of head tax-collector. Hyrcanus' ambitions did not please his father and certainly not his brothers.⁵⁰ His brothers had always disliked him,

⁴⁶ See Emmet, Introduction to III Maccabees in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I.

⁴⁷ Polybius V, 87; Bevan, op. cit.; Niese, *Geschichte der Griecheschen und Makedonischen Staten*, II, pp. 375-8.

⁴⁸ The author of III Maccabees narrates that Ptolemy Philopator compelled the Jews of Alexandria to worship the gods of the country and the man who refused to do so would lose his citizenship and would be made a slave. Schürer Geschichte, III is of the opinion that there is no historical basis for the account which is given in III Maccabees. Comp. however, Büchler, *Tobiaden und Oniaden*,¹⁷² Willrich, *Der Historische Kern des III Makk.* Hermes, XXXIX, 1904, p. 244; Fuchs, *Die Juden Aegyptens in Ptolemäischer und Römischer Zeit*, 1924 (9 n. 6), Josephus in *Contra Apion* gives a similar story at the time of Ptolemy VII. (145-116.)

⁴⁹ Josephus, Ant. XII.

⁵⁰ Hyrcanus was their step-brother, being the child of an illicit relationship between Joseph and his niece.

but now they feared that he might succeed to the position of head tax-collector, since he was popular in the Alexandrian Court. They, therefore, conspired against him, and schemed to kill him upon his return from Alexandria to Jerusalem. In the struggle that took place between himself and his brothers, two of the latter were slain.⁵¹ Hyrcanus, upon his return to Jerusalem, received a cold reception from his father as well as from the people.

In the year 203 Ptolemy Philopator died, and his son who was then but seven years of age succeeded him as Ptolemy V, called Ptolemy Epiphanes. Antiochus III, King of Syria, considered the time ripe to re-conquer Coelo-Syria, and declared war on Egypt. In 202 Antiochus invaded Coelo-Syria⁵² and drove the Ptolemaic army back into the desert between Palestine and Egypt. In this conflict the Jews sided with Antiochus III, since Joseph, the son of Tobiah, responsible for the pro-Egyptian policy of the Jews, was no longer living.⁵³ The sons of Joseph sided with Syria, since Hyrcanus (their step-brother and rival) was a favorite at the Alexandrian Court. The High Priest, who was at that time Simon II, known as the Just, the son of Onias II, likewise sided with Antiochus. Simon II, as did his father before him, thought it best for the Jews and the Temple to be united with Babylonia. Thus the Jews in Jerusalem were divided into two factions: one, under the leadership of Simon the Just (and the sons of Joseph), who favored Antiochus, and the other, under the leadership of Hyrcanus, who favored Ptolemy. To decide this important political issue, the gerusia was convened. At this assembly, the adherents of Antiochus were victorious.

When Antiochus and his army appeared at the gates of Jerusalem, a delegation of the Elders, headed by Simon the Just, came out to welcome the King.⁵⁴ But again the tide of fortune changed, And in the Winter of 201, Scopas, the general of the Ptolemaic

⁵¹ Josephus, Ant. XII.

⁵² Polybius, XV; Bevan, op. cit.; Niese, op. cit.

⁵³ According to Josephus Ant. XII, Joseph held the position for twenty-two years. He became the tax collector circa 230-27. See Tscherikower, op. cit.

⁵⁴ Ant. Ibid. See S. Zeitlin; מדרישין, נר מערב, 1924. שמעון הצדיק היה מושרי.

army, succeeded in recapturing a number of cities in Palestine.⁵⁵ Jerusalem again passed into the hands of the Ptolemies. Scopas placed a garrison in Jerusalem, and the supporters of Antiochus suffered severely at the hands of the Egyptian forces. In the year 199 Antiochus came for the third time to recapture Coelo-Syria. In the Battle of Panion (a place near the source of the Jordan River) Antiochus won a decisive victory over the Ptolemaian army.⁵⁶ Palestine was now lost to the Ptolemies forever, after having been under their rule for almost a century. It became a part of Syria once again.

For the support extended him in his second campaign against Ptolemy, Antiochus rewarded the Jews.⁵⁷ He exempted them from paying taxes for three years. Members of the *Synod*—priests, scribes, and the Temple-singers—were exempt from paying poll-tax and crown-tax. He supplied the Jews with lumber, taken from the forest of Lebanon, free from duty, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and the cloisters of the Temple. He contributed a certain sum of money for sacrificial purposes, and allowed those who had formerly fled from the city to return to their homes. He restored to those who had been sold into slavery freedom. In this Edict of Privileges Antiochus granted the Jews the right to live according to the laws of their country. Non-Jews were prohibited from entering the Temple under the penalty of death.⁵⁸

In 192 a treaty was signed between Antiochus and Ptolemy. To make this bond of friendship between the two nations more lasting, a marriage alliance was arranged between the two families. Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, was given in marriage to Ptolemy V. As a dowry for Cleopatra the revenue of Coelo-Syria was assigned. A part of this revenue, however, was retained to meet the expense of the Syrian administration in

⁵⁵ Ant. Ibid.; Polybius XVI, 39.

⁵⁶ Ant. Ibid.; Livy, XXXIII, 19.

⁵⁷ Ant. Ibid. Hugo Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*, 39; Büchler, op. cit. 159. Niese, op. cit. II 579, N. III; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*, ap. E.

⁵⁸ Josephus, B. J., 1, 2, 4, tells us that the Romans gave the right to the Jews to put to death any Roman who should enter the Temple area.

Coelo-Syria.⁵⁹ Whether the sons of Joseph continued to be the collectors of the revenue of Coelo-Syria, as their father had been before them at the Alexandrian Court, we do not know. The sources are silent. Naturally it is difficult to speculate one way or the other. The revenue of Judea, however, we may safely assume, was collected by the sons of Joseph, and not by their cousin the High Priest, Simon the Just, as had been done before the time of Joseph.

IV

THE HELLENISTIC PARTY

In 187 Antiochus III died and was succeeded by his son Seleucus. Hyrcanus, the youngest son of Joseph, head of the Ptolemaic party, had been compelled to leave Jerusalem when the people decided to support Antiochus against Ptolemy. Now that Antiochus was dead and the High Priest Simon no longer living, Hyrcanus and his followers tried to break into the city. But the sons of Joseph maintained the upper hand, and Hyrcanus was routed. He retired to Transjordania. There he waged war against the Arabian tribes. Some of them he subdued, and ruled over them, according to Josephus, for seven years.⁶⁰

After the death of Simon the Just, his son Onias III became High Priest. Unlike his predecessors, Onias was no longer in

⁵⁹ Ant. XII, 4, 1. According to Polybius XXVIII, 20, the Alexandrian court at the time of Ptolemy VI, maintained that Coelo-Syria was transferred to Egypt as a part of the dowry for Cleopatra. Comp. Daniel XI, 17. בְּנֵי הַשָּׂרִים יְהוּנָה J. A. Montgomery, *a critical and exegetical commentary of the Book of Daniel*.

⁶⁰ Ant. XII, 7. Hyrcanus after receiving word that Antiochus IV had become king, committed suicide. His tragic death gave rise to many hypotheses. According to Gressmann, *Die Ammonitischen Tobiaden, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXIX, 1921. Hyrcanus end is the foundation of the popular idea of the Messiah ben Joseph. This is not the place to discuss that idea. I may state, however, that the idea of Messiah ben Joseph came to the Jews after the catastrophe of Bar Kokba. Bar Kokba was proclaimed by many Jewish leaders as the Messiah and he was killed. This gave rise to the idea that he was only the first Messiah, the son of Joseph, who is supposed to be killed before the appearance of the Messiah, the son of David.

sympathy with the Syrian King, but became a warm adherent of the Alexandrian Court. He joined hands with his cousin Hyrcanus. This change in the policy of the Temple Pontiff was due, I believe, to the following reasons. Simon the Just followed the policy of his predecessors which was pro-Syrian because they had hoped that the revenue of the Temple in Jerusalem would be greater if Jerusalem was united with Syria. The bulk of the Jews lived in the upper lands, Babylonia and Persia. But in the last year of Antiochus' reign the road from Jerusalem to the upper lands was a scene of disturbances. This prevented the Jews in the upper lands from going to Jerusalem and from sending their gifts to the Temple. In the last two generations, on the other hand, the Jews of Egypt had increased in numbers and had become a thickly populated community. If Palestine were united to Egypt the Temple and its Priests would derive benefit from the Jews who lived so near to Jerusalem.

An additional reason fostered this change of policy of the High Priest. The brothers of Joseph assumed dominating power in Palestine, and even became rivals for the position of High Priest.⁶¹ One of the "sons of Joseph" named Simon became captain of the Temple.⁶² A hot controversy arose between this Simon, the captain of the Temple, and his cousin Onias, the

⁶¹ The passage in Ben Sira L, 24, reads as follows: "May His mercy be established with Simeon, and may He raise up for him the covenant of Phinehas; may one never be cut off from Him; And as to his seed (may it be) as the days of Heaven." This may be applied to the High Priest Onias III, when the sons of Joseph, Simon and Menelaus, tried to usurp the office of high priest from Onias. Ben Sira as a pious Jew and most devoted to Simon II, the Just, prays to God that the priesthood should not cease from Simon's lineage, and that the covenant of Phinehas should never be broken with Simon's children. See S. Zeitlin, *A Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, 1933, p. 26.

⁶² II Macc. III, 4, "A certain Simon of the family of Benjamin who was the captain in the Temple." *προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. Some scholars maintain that this Simon was of the tribe of Benjamin, and therefore was not priest. The word φύλη, however may mean tribe, but also family, Simon was of the family of Benjamin which was a priestly family. Comp. Tos. Tan. III. *אמ' ר' אליעזר בן צדוק אמי נבנני נבנני* Eliezer was a priest and he was of the family of Benjamin. See Ap. C.

High Priest, as to the control of the Jerusalem market.⁶³ This position was very important because the man in charge of the city market controlled the entire economic life of the inhabitants. Apparently this control of the market belonged to the High Priests since they were not only the spiritual leaders of the Jewish community but also represented it, before the Persian Court and later before the Ptolemaic Court, socially and economically. Joseph had snatched this power from his uncle, Onias II, when he became tax-collector of Judea. But the control of the market apparently still remained securely in the hands of the High Priest.

Onias III did not wish to relinquish his power over the Jerusalem market. Simon, feeling that his power was inadequate to struggle against Onias turned to the Syrian Court for support. He informed them that Onias, the High Priest, had allied himself with Hyrcanus, the sworn enemy of the Syrian rule, and awaited an opportune moment to side openly with the Ptolemies. To substantiate his contention, he further informed the Syrian Court that Onias had hidden a lot of money in the Temple which did not come from sacrifices.⁶⁴

Seleucus sent the general, Heliodorus, to investigate the matter. When Heliodorus came to Jerusalem he was heartily welcomed by the High Priest, but when he wished to enter the Temple to confiscate the treasury, he was refused admission. Onias informed him that the monies in the treasury were deposited by orphans and widows; he admitted, however, that part of the monies belonged to Hyrcanus, the son of Tobiah,⁶⁵ and defended him, saying that Hyrcanus had been falsely accused by his enemy, Simon. Heliodorus, nevertheless, entered the Temple.⁶⁶ Whether he confiscated the monies in the Temple treasury is a matter of speculation. The second Book of Maccabees has a legend that Heliodorus fainted in the Temple and was carried

⁶³ II Macc. III, 4. "Fell out with the High Priest over the management of the city market."

⁶⁴ Ibid. 5-13. See Montgomery, *op. cit.* pp. 444-45.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 11, The grandson of Tobiah. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* II, suggested that the Hebrew name of Hyrcanus was Tobiah.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 14-24.

out by the priests unconscious.⁶⁷ One thing, however, is certain, namely, Simon for the time being did not attain his ambitions, and Onias evidently smoothed the matter with Heliodorus over.

Simon, true son of his father Joseph, would not so easily give up his ambition. He took a further step by accusing the High Priest himself of conspiracy against the government.⁶⁸ This accusation aroused great disension among the rank and file of the inhabitants; there was so great a threat of a civil war that Appollonius, the governor of Coelo-Syria, stood ready to intervene and quell the rebellion. Onias, to clear himself of the accusation brought against him by Simon, went to see the King, and explained in person that his action in preventing Heliodorus from entering the Temple was in accord with the privilege given to the Jews by Antiochus III, that no foreigners be allowed to enter the Temple. The refusal to admit Heliodorus to the Temple was not due, therefore, to Jewish disloyalty to the Syrian government. He assured the King, moreover, that he had no designs to join the Ptolemaic party. The responsibility for the disorders in Jerusalem rested entirely upon the shoulders of Simon.⁶⁹

The author of the second Book of Maccabees speaks about the visit of Onias to the Syrian King as follows: "Not that he went about to accuse his fellow-citizens, but simply with the view to be good to all people; both public and private; for he said that, unless the king intervened and interested himself, it was impossible for the state to be at peace, nor would Simon abandon his insensate attempt."⁷⁰

This statement as well as the entire two books of the Maccabees have come down to us from men who were strong adherents of the Hasmonean party, and were deeply prejudiced against any other party, particularly the Hellenistic which they painted in darkest colors. Upon examination of this statement, however, and the two books of the Maccabees, I believe that we may justifiably assume that Onias went to see the King for the purpose of winning him over to his side and of removing his cousin

⁶⁷ Ibid. 29.

⁶⁸ Ibid. IV. 1-2.

⁶⁹ Comp. also Tscherikower, Op. Cit.

⁷⁰ II, Macc. IV, 6.

Simon from his post in the Temple. Onias' mission was not successful for, by the time he reached Antioch, King Seleucus had been assassinated by Heliodorus and the King's brother, Antiochus IV, who was a hostage in Rome, became the Syrian King.

Simon and his brothers, the sons of Joseph, saw the opportunity to remove Onias and put in his place his brother Joshua (Joshua was Onias' brother). Joshua's name in Greek was Jason, and, while his brother Onias was away in Syria, he was probably filling the position of High Priest in Jerusalem.

The fundamental conflict between Onias, the High Priest, and the sons of Joseph did not revolve merely about the question as to who should be the High Priest, and who should control the city market. That conflict was of far wider scope. It had its roots in the perilous choices the Jewish community had to make. What policy should the Jews pursue? Onias was eager to perpetuate Jewish life along the lines and in accordance with the principles laid down by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the development since those days. Moreover, he was anxious that Jewish life be centered about the Temple, for he was zealous against assimilation and foreign cultural influence.

Simon, on the other hand, and his brothers, the sons of Joseph, had lost their attachment to Judaism, although they were priests and descendants of Simon I. As tax-collectors they were in constant touch with foreign influences found at the Ptolemaen and the Seleucidean Court. The influence of Hellenization was felt in all the aspects of their lives. The language they spoke was probably Greek. They bore Greek names; and their whole manner of living was Grecian. They mingled in Greek society at home and abroad, especially during their frequent visits to the Egyptian and Syrian Courts. There they saw the cream of Greek society engaged in athletics which were a source of national pride to the Greeks. The sons of Joseph were most anxious to introduce such games into their own country. And the reason for this is not far to seek.

The Tobias family were the leaders of the new aristocracy of wealth. They had converted Jerusalem from an obscure, insig-

nificant town into a prominent city of world commerce.⁷¹ But they were handicapped in their commercial enterprises because Jerusalem did not have the privilege of its own coinage, whereas cities like Tyre on the Mediterranean coast had their own coinage systems. For the economic amelioration of their welfare and that of thire people, the Tobias family were ready to relinquish their Judaism which had developed in the last few centuries and which, at most, did not mean much to them. Their economic efforts could prove fruitful only when Jerusalem had the privileges of a Hellenistic city, the most important of which was the coinage of its own money. With this ultimate purpose in mind, the Tobias family was anxious to establish gymnasiums in Jerusalem so that the Jews, engaging in athletics similar to those of other cities, might achieve for Jerusalem the status of a Hellenistic city.⁷²

Aware that they could not achieve their goal as long as Onias III was the High Priest, the Tobias family conspired to remove him from his office, and to entrust the high priesthood to Joshua-Jason who was more sympathetic to their Hellenistic policy.

Jason, knowing full well that the Jewish people would not sanction this action, since his brother was still alive (even if Onias were to die, his office would pass on to his children and not to a brother), resorted to bribery. He gave King Antiochus 360 talents of silver and promised to increase this by 80 talents later.⁷³ In addition, he consented to pay another 150 talents of

⁷¹ "to set up a gymnasium and ephebeum" *ibid.*, 9. See Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*, XXIII. The gymnasium with the body of Epheboi attached to it was an essential feature. From the letter of Claudius we can also deduce that the person who could not participate in the gymnasium is not a citizen. See H. Bell, *Jews and Greeks in Egypt*; See Tscherikower; Comp. also Appendix B.

⁷² II Macc. IV, 13. "Thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless Jason—no high priest he."

⁷³ According to Josephus, Ant. XII, 5, 1, Menelaus was the one who besought the King Antiochus to build a gymnasium and to change the name of Jerusalem to Antioch. The IV Macc. give the same account as II Macc. that Jason was the man who approached King Antiochus to build the gymnasium. It is possible that the source which Josephus used was the correct one and that Menelaus and not Jason requested the King to grant the gymnasium, but as the author of II Macc. was very much opposed to Jason, as he holds Jason responsible for the Hellenization of Jerusalem he may blame him for the actions which were really committed by Menelaus.

silver for the privilege of setting up a gymnasium in Jerusalem, and to register the inhabitants of the city as Antiochenes i. e.,⁷⁴ the inhabitants of Jerusalem would cease to belong any more to the Jewish ἔθνος, nation,^{74a} but would become instead citizens of the Jewish race of the great empire of Antiochus.

When Jason became the High Priest in the year 175–174, a gymnasium was built in Jerusalem, and the Jewish youth, and even priests, participated in the athletics. The Holy City became Hellenized. The Greek head, Petasus (the mask of Hermes), was seen in the streets on the heads of all the Jewish youth.⁷⁵ They together with the priests exposed their bodies during athletic activity. In order to avoid recognition as Jews, they hid the fact of circumcision by drawing forward the prepuce so that they resembled the Hellenes.⁷⁶

On the surface, peaceful conditions prevailed in Jerusalem and throughout Coelo-Syria. In the year 173, however, Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus, who had been given in marriage to Ptolemy V as a security for peace between the two houses, died. The anti-Seleucidian party at the Alexandrian Court gained the upper hand and started a strong agitation to re-annex Coelo-Syria to Egypt. Apollonius, who represented Antiochus IV at the inauguration of Ptolemy VI, reported to the King that the policy of Alexandria was a menace to the peace of Coelo-Syria. Antiochus determined to investigate matters at first hand. He advanced with his army as far as Jappa. He convinced himself that the entire country was tranquil, and that there was no menace to his realm. At this time he visited Jerusalem and was received by the High Priest Jason with great acclaim. The Hellenized Jews of the city marched about the streets with blazing torches in their hands.⁷⁷

The Tobias family, who had succeeded in removing Onias from the high priesthood because he was an obstacle in their

⁷⁴ II, Macc. IV, 9, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροδολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι. Comp. Jos. Ant. XII, 5, 1.

^{74a} The distinction in the use of γένος and ἔθνος by Josephus will be dealt with at length elsewhere.

⁷⁵ II, Macc. IV, 12.

⁷⁶ Ibid. Ant. XII, 5, 1.

⁷⁷ See II, Macc. IV, 21–22.

plan for the Hellenization of the Jews, had put his brother Jason in his place. But they were not altogether satisfied with their choice; Jason proved to be still too conservative for their goal of Hellenization. They now thought that it would be more advantageous to get the high priesthood for one of their own family. Having already succeeded in setting up Jason as High Priest in the place of his brother Onias—an action that violated Jewish custom; for this office was always inherited—they felt confident that they could seize the high priesthood from Jason and give it to one of their own family, who were priests and of the family of Simon I.^{77a}

The opportunity which the family of Tobias sought came to their hand when Jason the High Priest sent one of the sons of Tobias, Menelaus (in Hebrew Onias), the brother of Simon, to the King to convey some money to him, and to remind him of some matters which needed attention. Menelaus, who was as shrewd as his father Joseph, seized the opportunity to procure the high priesthood for himself by offering the King 300 talents of silver in excess of the amount advanced by Jason. He further flattered the King that he would Hellenize Jerusalem more effectively and completely than Jason had done. Thus, Menelaus obtained the high priesthood from the King. Jason, however, did not yield to Menelaus and a fight between them was precipitated. As most of the people were on the side of Jason, Menelaus was compelled to leave the city,^{77b} and went to the King and complained against Jason and the Jews. Menelaus soon returned to Jerusalem with a military force given him by the King. Jason then had to flee from Jerusalem to Trans-Jordania.⁷⁸

^{77a} See Appendix C.

^{77b} According to B. J. Onias expelled the sons of Tobiah from Jerusalem, while according to Antiquities, XII, 5 Jason, expelled Menelaus and the sons of Tobiah from Jerusalem. It is possible that Josephus in B. J. used the name Onias instead of Jason in error, or we may assume that the account given in B. J. refers to the early conflict between Onias and the sons of Tobias, while in Antiquities he tells the story of the conflict between Jason and Menelaus which took place in the year 171. Josephus further tells us that the sons of Tobias "took the part of Menelaus." Here Josephus refers to the entire family of Tobias who were for Menelaus against Onias, the son of Simon.

⁷⁸ II Macc. IV, 26.

Thus, Menelaus reached the office of High Priest through the military force given him by King Antiochus. But he could not raise the sum of money he had promised the King, and he went to Antioch to plead for an extension of time. He had left his brother Lysimachus to act as High Priest in his absence. Lysimachus, in order to obtain the money which his brother had promised the King, took the golden vessels from the Temple, and sold them. The proceeds of this sale went towards the payment of his brother's pledge. This sacrilegious act caused great indignation against Lysimachus among the Jewish population. In the struggle between the Jews and Lysimachus which followed the latter was killed. Menelaus' position, too, was endangered. Three men were sent by the Jewish Gerusia (the Senate) to the King to present charges against Menelaus.^{78a} But, again, Menelaus was able to maintain his position as High Priest, and the three delegates from Jerusalem were put to death. Menelaus, whose position for a time had been shaky, now received full authority from the King and his Hellenization policy became so intensive that anyone who followed Judasim was suppressed.

V

THE TEMPLE OF ONIAS

A heated discussion rages about the question of the building of the Temple in Egypt. Was it Onias III or Onias IV who built it? In answering this question we find our main sources—the second Book of Maccabees and Josephus—presenting us with many difficulties. According to the second Book of Maccabees, the High Priest Onias III was assassinated during his stay in Antioch. Josephus, in his “*Bellum Judaicum*” I, 1,⁷⁹ tells us that it was Onias III who went to Egypt and, received permission from Ptolemy V to build there a Temple, in his “*Antiquities*” XII, 9, 7,⁸⁰ however, he records that Onias IV was the builder of the Temple. Josephus further tells us that Onias IV went to Egypt

^{78a} Ibid., 43–50.

⁷⁹ Also in B. J. VII, 10, 2–3.

⁸⁰ So in Ant. XX, 10, 1; Also Ibid. XIII, 3, 1–2.

after the death of Menelaus when the high priesthood, instead of going to him, was given to Alchimus. On this basis, therefore, in addition to the testimony of the second Book of Maccabees, many scholars have proposed the theory that, Onias III was treacherously assassinated in Antioch, while the Temple in Egypt was built by Onias IV.⁸¹

Despite this reasoning, however, I believe that the narrative as recorded in "Bellum Judaicum" I, 7, attributing the building of the Temple to Onias III, supplies us with the correct historical data. The Temple was not built by Onias IV (164-163 B.C.E.) but by Onias III in the year 169-168. And the reasons for this assumption can be found in the historical occurrences of the times.

The year 168-167 was the most suitable period for building a Temple, for in that very year the Temple in Jerusalem was defiled by Antiochus. At this time great antagonism existed between the Syrians and the Egyptians. The High Priest Onias III had been removed from his office because he was suspected of favoring the Ptolemaic dynasty. The Ptolemaic Court, for the sake of political advantage, gave permission to Onias III, the representative of the Jews, to build in Egypt a Temple similar to the one which was in Jerusalem but which had been defiled by the Syrians. Only when the Jews in Palestine could not worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, was a Temple in Egypt at all possible.

The political policy on the part of the Ptolemies implied in their permission to build the Temple in Egypt could not be applied to Onias IV who went to Egypt in the year 164-163. At that time the Syrians and the Egyptians were no longer at war with each other, and Egypt was free of fear of further Syrian invasions. Moreover, the Jews in Palestine, after the victories of the Maccabees, received religious freedom from Antiochus V. The Temple had been cleansed and rededicated. It seems most unlikely at that time for a priest, even if he had not been appointed to the high priesthood, for that reason alone to apply to Ptolemy

⁸¹ Tschirikower, op. cit. 283-4. See Krauss, *Synagogue Altertumer*, 82.

for permission to build a Temple in Egypt.^{81a} It was in the time of Onias III that conditions made it possible and necessary for a High Priest to seek such permission.

The story of the assassination of Onias III, as recorded in the second Book of Maccabees,⁸² may be explained on the basis of a false rumour prevalent at the time. The author of second Maccabees used this rumour as a fact. The validity of this rumour was increased because it was commonly known that the whole delegation, sent to Antiochus from Jerusalem to complain against Menelaus, had been killed. What happened to a whole delegation, could reasonably happen to an individual, even though the individual be a High Priest. We may even assume that the author of Second Maccabees knew quite well that Onias had not been killed, but had gone to Egypt with the idea of building a Temple. But, since the purpose of the author was to glorify Onias, and to place the entire blame for the calamity which befell the Jews in the defilement of their Temple on Jason, Menelaus, and their adherents, it was not to his interest to reveal the fact that the High Priest Onias went to Egypt to build a Temple in competition with the one in Jerusalem. Such a story would not have added luster to the crown he was welding for his hero. Josephus in "Antiquities" says that the Temple was built by Onias IV. He does not mention, however, a word about the rumoured untoward death of Onias III, apparently knowing nothing of the assassination in Antioch.

Why was Heliopolis, and not Alexandria, chosen as the site of the Egyptian Temple? In spite of the fact that Alexandria contained the largest settlement of Jews, Onias III chose Heliopolis because a Jewish tradition associated that city with the settlement of Jacob and his sons on their arrival in Egypt.^{82a} Heliopolis was traditionally connected with Jacob and Moses, and was deemed, therefore, the most appropriate place for a

^{81a} According to Josephus in *Antiquities*, XIII, 3, 1, Onias IV went to Egypt to build a Temple in order to make a name for himself. This must be disregarded as it is probably based upon a source hostile to the Onias family.

⁸² II Macc. IV, 30-35.

^{82a} See Ant. II, 7, 6.

Temple site. Through Alexandria contained the bulk of the Jews. tradition drew the halo of sentiment around Heliopolis.

To remove the rivalry of the Temple in Egypt with the Temple in Jerusalem, the leaders of the Jews decreed that all the land of the Gentiles^{82b} (i. e. land outside of Palestine) should be considered to be in a state of levitical uncleanness. With this decree they accomplished their aim, since Egypt was a country levitically unclean, and thus removed any possible competition that might arise from the Temple in Heliopolis.⁸³

VI

THE DESECRATION OF THE TEMPLE

The struggle between Syria and Egypt in the year 171 broke out anew. The anti-Syrian party in the Alexandrian Court, rising in influence, agitated an attack upon Coelo-Syria. Antiochus Epiphanes, learning that the Ptolemaean army was about to assault Coelo-Syria, thought he was justified in attacking first. In the year 171-170,⁸⁴ therefore, he marched with a large army to the Egyptian frontier. He stormed Pelusium, the main fortress, took it, and invaded Egypt. Later a peace treaty, advantageous to Antiochus, was concluded between Syria and Egypt. On his way back from Egypt, Antiochus invaded Jerusalem,^{84a} entered

^{82b} Tal. Thab. 15. Comp. S. Zeitlin, *Les dix-huit mesures*, R. E. J.

⁸³ See Tal. Men. 109b, Onias the son of Simon built the Temple, in Egypt. Josephus tells us (Ant. XIII, 3, 1-2) that when Onias IV approached King Ptolemy and asked permission to build the Temple, Ptolemy hesitated to give the required permission since the land of Egypt was considered levitically unclean. To this Onias replied that the prophet Isaiah had already foretold that there would be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God (Is. XIX, 19). There is no question in my mind that Ptolemy did not consider the question of levitical uncleanness. Josephus gives us a graphic account of the attitude of the Jews themselves. One faction apparently resented the building of the Temple since the land of Egypt was levitically impure, while the other favored the idea because it was foretold by Isaiah. Comp. also Tal. Men. 110.

⁸⁴ On the question as to how many times Antiochus invaded Egypt see S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit, is a source for Jewish chronology and history in the Hellenistic or Roman period*. Chap. 2, 4, Note 35.

^{84a} This took place in the year 143 A. S. (I Macc. 1.20-4) about the close of the summer 170. See also Clinton, *Fasti Hellenieii*, III, 318-20.

the Temple, and confiscated the gold which he found there. According to the first Book of Maccabees many Jews were killed. The slaughter which Antiochus ordered apparently was due to the protests which the Jews raised against his entering the holy place, and confiscating the treasures of the sanctuary.

But the peace between Egypt and Syria did not last long. In 169-168 Antiochus, determined to annex Egypt, a second time set his armies on the march. He was victorious, but his dream of subduing Egypt under his rule was rudely crushed by Rome.

The Roman Senate, moved by the events in Egypt, sent an embassy to Antiochus, demanding that he should evacuate the country. The consul presented the following ultimatum to Antiochus:

"to decide on the spot, and not go out of that ring, until
he had given an answer to the Senate whether he would
have peace or war with Rome."⁸⁵

To this Antiochus replied that "He would obey the Senate." It was this event apparently that caused the rumour, which spread in Coelo-Syria, that Antiochus had died. When this rumour reached Palestine, Jason came with an army of about a thousand men, and attacked Jerusalem. Menelaus took refuge in the citadel. Suddenly, however, the rumour of the death of Antiochus was laid. Jason learned that Antiochus was not only alive, but was marching with his army from Egypt back to Syria. At this news Jason fled from Jerusalem, and took refuge with the Ammonites.⁸⁶

When Antiochus received word that Judea was in revolt against him, he marched against Jerusalem and stormed the city. He slaughtered a great number of Jews; he had their women and children to be sold into slavery. Antiochus Epiphanes who, according to Polybius, was called by some of his countrymen Epimanes (the madman),⁸⁷ realized that his endeavors to free

⁸⁵ Justin, XXXIV, 3.

⁸⁶ II Macc. V, 1-8 "Now about this time Antiochus made his second inroad into Egypt." Antiochus IV was in Egypt in the year 169-8 (145 A. S.) comp. Polyh., XXVIII, 17 and XXIX, 23-6, See Niese, *Geschichte*, III, 174, 230-1. S. Zeitlin, op. cit. p. 36.

⁸⁷ Polybius, XXVI, 1. 'Επιμανῆ καὶ οὐκ 'Επιφανῆ.

the Jews from their religious superstition and to bring them into the Hellenistic fold had been in vain. His efforts to make Jerusalem a Greek *polis* failed. He decided, since he felt he could not depend upon the Hellenistic party in Judea, to destroy the Jews and their Judaism by force. He abolished the daily sacrifices, defiled the Temple, and decreed that swine and other unclean animals be brought on the altar of the Temple as sacrifices.

In the year 168, in the month of Kislev,⁸⁸ a Greek altar, the "Abomination of Desolation," was erected upon the old altar in the Temple court, and swine were sacrificed upon it. The sanctuary itself was dedicated to Zeus Olympius. He prohibited the Jews from keeping their Sabbath. To circumcize their children was punishable with death. The Books of the Law were burned. The city itself was put to flames; the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed; and people of foreign countries were settled in Jerusalem. A new fortress was built on Mount Zion, and a body of royal troops, the "Macedonians," was established in the city to dominate it.⁸⁹ By these means he thought he would destroy Judaism and make Judea a colony of Syria. Judea was very important to Antiochus politically. Since his father lost Asia Minor to the Romans, the Mediterranean Coast of Coelo-Syria became of paramount importance to the Syrian government. Antiochus, therefore, strove desperately to retain Coelo-Syria.

Meanwhile, the Hellenistic party in Jerusalem, led by Menelaus the High Priest most likely was not very much satisfied with this policy of Antiochus. They thought that they would be able to Hellenize the Jews, make Jerusalem a Greek *polis*, and thus themselves become citizens of the great Syrian Empire—Antio-

⁸⁸ I Macc. I, 20-64; II Macc. V, VI, On the chronology used in I Macc. and II Macc. see S. Zeitlin op. cit. Chapters 2-4.

⁸⁹ I Macc. ibid. II Macc. ibid. It is interesting to note that among the decrees which Antiochus issued against the Jews in his persecutions the decree to destroy the synagogues is not mentioned at all. The reason thereof is that the institution of the synagogue as a house of worship had not as yet been established among the Jews. The Jews offered prayers in the Temple, in the street, or at any place at all, but there was no particular institution for that purpose, and therefore the synagogue could not have been mentioned in the decrees of Antiochus. Comp. S. Z. The Origin of the Synagogue, Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research, 1930.

chens of the city of Jerusalem. Now their plans had been frustrated. The city and country became a colony of Syria, and Menelaus merely a chief *gendarme* for Antiochus to help him destroy the city and slaughter the Jews. Due to these political developments, Menelaus and his adherents were compelled first to execute the orders of Antiochus, and then to become associates in the Syrian scheme of destroying Judaism.⁹⁰

The Jews did not take the commands of Antiochus without a struggle. They defied his orders by observing the Sabbath, and circumcising their children. Those who were caught observing Jewish laws were tortured and slain. Out of these repressive measures a new spirit of revolt was born, a violent reaction against the forcible Hellenization of the Jews. A new group came into existence called the Hassidim, the pious. This group in the face of great danger observed the Jewish law. They circumcised their children in spite of the fact that the infants were often murdered at the breast of their mothers. The author of the second Book of Maccabees narrates how a group of Jews hid themselves in a cave in order to observe the Sabbath. When the agents of Antiochus discovered them, they threatened to burn them in the cave unless they profaned the Sabbath. The Jews thereupon refused, and were burned alive.⁹¹ The Hassidim met the edicts of Antiochus with the silent scorn of non-resistance.

⁹⁰ See also Tschirekower op. cit.

⁹¹ II Macc. VI, The bodies of the Hassidim who were slain for defying the decrees of Antiochus were not allowed to be buried. "The Jews whom he (Antiochus) had determined to throw out with their children to the beasts, for the birds to devour, as unworthy even to be buried." Ibid. IX, 15. The words of the Psalmist where he complains that (LXXIX, 2-3) *נהנו אתה נבלח* (2-3) *עבדיך מאכל לעוף חסדים בשר חסדים לחיתו ארץ שפכו דםם כמים סבביהם ירושלים ואין קבור* "The bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy Hassidim (saints) unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem and there was none to bury them." These words refer most likely to the Hassidim who were killed at the time of the persecutions of Antiochus, and their bodies were left unburied. In the book of Tobit the author laid more stress on the duty of every Jew to bury the dead even at the risk of his own life as God would at the end reward him for it. The Book of Tobit was written at this period. Comp. Schürer, Gesch. III. S. Zeitlin, *An Historical Study of the Canonization of Hebrew Scriptures*, 1933.

For a while it seemed as if Antiochus had triumphed over the Jews, and Judaism had been defeated by Hellenism. The situation was very dark, indeed. On the one hand, the Hellenistic party became the officials of Antiochus and executed ruthlessly his orders against any Jews who remained loyal to their religion; on the other hand, the Hassidim were a group of individualists who were concerned only with the salvation of their souls, their one objective was not to transgress the commandments of God. They had no interest in the people as a whole, nor did they think it worth while to resist the Hellenes by force of arms in order to bring about the victory of the Jews over the Syrians, and of Judaism over Hellenism. They were the first martyrs in history.⁹²

VII

THE HASMONEANS

The policy of passive resistance which the Hassidim maintained ultimately developed into active resistance. A priest named Mattathias, of the family of the Hasmoneans, dwelt in the little town of Modin.⁹³ He was a Jerusalemite.⁹⁴ It is he who is accorded the honor of instigating the rebellion against Antiochus. He sought not only to defy the King's decrees but actually to use force against the officials of Antiochus. He held that, if the Jews were compelled to wield arms on the Sabbath, they should do so, for he believed that it is better to break one Sabbath in order to be able to make it possible to observe all the Sabbaths in the future; since man is not created for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for man.⁹⁵ After the death of Mattathias, his sons, under the leadership of their brother Judas who was called Maccabeus,⁹⁶ continued with even greater force the struggle for the liberation of the Jewish religion from the Syrian oppressors.

⁹² See Klausner, *היסטורייה ישראלית ב*.

⁹³ I Macc. 2, 1-2. 'The son of Asmoneus.'

⁹⁴ Ant. XII, 6, 1. 'Ιεροσολυμίτης. I Macc. ibid. ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ.'

⁹⁵ See Derenbourg, *Essai*. כהן נדל, *לכם שבת מסורה. חמונאיו בניו ומחתתו כהן נדל מסוריהם לשבת*. Mekilta 81.

⁹⁶ A. Bevan, in a recent article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* has suggested that the word Maccabaeus derives from the Hebrew word *מקביהו* אָתָּה לְשָׁבֵת. the name of the Lord.

Judas, lacking sufficient forces to fight the Syrians openly, at the beginning had to confine himself to guerrilla warfare. He fought from ambush. His struggle was a very difficult one, for the war was fought on two fronts: against the outer enemy, the Syrians, and against the enemy within, those Jews who had joined with the Syrians to help Antiochus to destroy Judaism. Judas' method was to attack a village suddenly, especially when the Syrians had erected altars to Zeus. He was particularly merciless against the Jewish hirelings of Antiochus.⁹⁷ By his courageous acts Judas inspired the Jews who had long since given up hope of being able to resist Antiochus. A considerable army gathered about him, recruited mostly from the people who lived in villages, the Am-haarez, and who were quite untouched by Hellenistic influences.

Judas now felt that he was able to match himself against the Syrian army in Judea, and he openly attacked the general of Antiochus, and won a decisive victory over him.⁹⁸ At this Antiochus determined to lead himself an army against the rebellious Jews. He feared the consequences of a successful revolt which might endanger the entire Coelo-Syria and the Mediterranean coast. At this time, however, word reached him that a rebellion had broken out in Persia. He therefore, changed his plans and marched his army there. He crossed the Euphrates in the year 167-166 on his way to Persia, entrusting a large army to Lysias with which to subdue the Jews.⁹⁹

Lysias himself, however, did not lead a force against the Jews. He appointed Ptolemy, Gorgias, and Nicanor as his generals. The campaign against rebellious Judea began. Judas succeeded in repulsing the Syrian army.¹⁰⁰ Lysias was now compelled to take over the command of the Syrian forces and in the year 166-165 he marched on Judea to crush the revolt. Lysias thought that he would be able to crush the Jewish resistance where the

⁹⁷ I Macc. III, 1-9; II Macc. VIII.

⁹⁸ According to I Macc. Judas had his first victory over Apollonius and Seron, while according to II Macc. Judas' first victory was over Nicanor, and Apollonius and Seron are not mentioned at all.

⁹⁹ I Macc. 3, 27-37.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 38-60, 4, 1-25.

others, among them Antiochus, had failed. It was his plan to populate Jerusalem with Greeks.

According to the Books of the Maccabees, Judas is supposed to have won a great victory over Lysias, and, after the victory, to have entered Jerusalem and rededicated the Temple.¹⁰¹ We have reason to believe that Judas did not gain that victory over Lysias. Internal developments in Syria compelled Lysias to sue for peace,¹⁰² for Antiochus had met his death in Persia in the early part of Autumn 165.¹⁰³ Before his death he appointed a certain Philip¹⁰⁴ to be regent, for his son was still a child. Lysias, upon receiving this news, thought that it was more to his interest to make peace with the Jews and to return to Antioch to meet Philip, his rival. That is the reason for the treaty which was concluded between Lysias and the Jews.

Lysias would not recognize Judas as the representative of the Jews. His letter of religious freedom was addressed to the Jewish people. This letter was signed the 24th of the month Deioscurus in the year 148.¹⁰⁵ The month Dioscurus is most likely the Syrian month which is called "Dius," corresponding to October–November. The Jews who did not know the reason for the sudden change in Lysias' policy ascribed it to a victory of Judas over Lysias. In the following month, the 25th of Apellaeus, that is, the 25th of Kislev, corresponding to the month of December, Judas and his army re-entered Jerusalem, and purified and rededicated the Temple to God.¹⁰⁶ The rededication took place exactly three years after the "Abomination of Desolation" was set up,¹⁰⁷ and three and one-half years¹⁰⁸ after the daily sacrifices had been abolished by Antiochus.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 36–60.

¹⁰² Comp. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*.

¹⁰³ Niese, *Kritik der Beiden Makkabaerbücher*, *Hermes*, 1900; *Idem.*, *Geschichte III*, 218.

¹⁰⁴ I Macc. 6, 14–15. Ant. XII, 9, 2.

¹⁰⁵ II Macc. XI, 17–33. See Appendix D.

¹⁰⁶ In the year 165 B.E.C. According to Josephus, Ant. XII, the rededication of the Temple took place in the year 148 A. S. and in the 154th Olympiad Comp. S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁷ I Macc. IV. Ant. XII, 7, 6.

¹⁰⁸ B. J. I, 4. See also S. Zeitlin op. cit. p. 41, n. 81

Upon his return to Syria, Lysias met Philip and in the battle which took place Philip was killed.¹⁰⁹ Antiochus V, called Eupator, later confirmed the privileges which Lysias had granted to the Jews. This he did in his official communication and in the one sent to the Jewish Gerusia. In these communications the King again ignores Judas, for the communications are addressed to the Gerusia. The letter to the Gerusia was written on the 15th day of Xanthicus (March–April) in the year 164.¹¹⁰

After the Temple had been rededicated in Jerusalem, Judas did not give up his attempts to liberate the city from the Syrians and their Jewish officials. He tried to destroy the citadel in the year 164. Menelaus and the Syrians went to Antiochus to complain against Judas's party which was steadily gaining strength in Judea.¹¹¹ Their appeal to the government bore fruit, for Lysias with the child-king led an expedition against Judas. Judas Maccabeus intended to give battle to the Syrians, but when he saw that the Syrian forces were too strong for him, he decided to retire within Jerusalem. Lysias marched against the city of Jerusalem and encamped facing Mt. Zion. The army of Judas suffered severely from scarcity of food, the year 164–163 being a sabbatical year.¹¹² The Jews could offer only weak resistance to Lysias, and it seemed as if all the success of Judas during the last few years was about to come to nought in the surrender of the fortress of Zion to their Syrian foes. An unhappy end to the dreams of Judas!

But, once again political complications in Syria saved the situation for the Jews. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, the uncle of Antiochus V, who had been a hostage in Rome, escaped and returned to Antioch to claim the crown for himself. When Lysias learned of this, he decided that once more it would be more advantageous to himself to make immediate peace with Judas, so that he might have a free hand to deal with the pretender to the Syrian throne. To give assurance of his good-will to Judas

¹⁰⁹ Ant. XII, 9, 7.

¹¹⁰ II Macc. XI. See Appendix D.

¹¹¹ I Macc. VI, 18–27,—II Macc. XIII, 1–8.

¹¹² I Macc. VI, 48–54.

and his party, he took Menelaus along with him, and slew him.¹¹³ Meanwhile, Demetrius succeeded in ascending the throne; subsequently Antiochus and Lysias were put to death.¹¹⁴ The peace treaty strengthened the hand of Judas and his coterie, and they began cleaning Jerusalem of its Hellenistic influences. The Hellenistic group, under the leadership of Alchimus, went to Demetrius I, the new King, and complained that the Hellenistic party, which was sympathetic to Syria, was being persecuted. Demetrius appointed Alchimus to be High Priest and gave him military aid.¹¹⁵

The Hassidim, who had helped Judas in his revolt against the Syrians, now, with the death of Menelaus and the assurance of religious freedom to the Jews by Lysias and Antiochus, broke away from Maccabees. They had joined Judas because Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, had forced the Jews to transgress the Jewish law, and had placed on the altar of the Temple the "Abomination of Desolation." Through the aid of Judas religious freedom had been gained, the Temple cleansed and rededicated, Menelaus was no more. The Hassidim were not vitally concerned with the question of the political independence of the Jewish people. Hence, their interest in political affairs waned.

When Alchimus now the High Priest by the grace of Demetrius, returned to Jerusalem, he was welcomed by the Hassidim. According to the first book of Maccabees the Hassidim said that he was a priest of the seed of Aaron and would not do any wrong. Alchimus spoke to them and promised them that none of them would be harmed. The Hassidim had reason to believe that he would not follow the policy of his predecessor, Menelaus. But Alchimus was an appointee of the Syrian king. Judas strongly opposed this new High Priest. In order to strengthen his position in Jerusalem against Judas, Alchimus aimed to strengthen his ties with the Hellenistic party rather than to flirt with the

¹¹³ II Macc. XIII, 1-8. According to Ant. XII, 9. Alchimus was appointed to be High Priest.

¹¹⁴ I Macc. VII, 1-4. Ant. XII, 10, 1. See S. Zeitlin, Meg. Taanit, אנה נטיל אנטיכים מן רושלים. On the 28th of Shebat, 163 B. C. E. (150 A. S.) Antiochus withdrew from Jerusalem.

¹¹⁵ I Macc. VII, 1-20. See also II Mac. XIV. Ant. XII, 9.

Hassidim, since he knew that he could not count on them as allies in his struggle against Judas. Thereupon, in order to reveal his attachment to the Hellenistic party and his opposition to the Hassidim, he killed sixty leaders of the latter.¹¹⁶

Judas besides being a capable general, who had won many victories over the Syrian enemy through his strategies, was a man of vision and political acumen. He realized that the Syrian government was disintegrating and he knew that, in his struggle against the Syrians, he would find friendly sympathy in Rome. Rome, from the days of the Third Punic War, had cast her eyes greedily on the Phoenician coast. She took every opportunity to inject herself in the turmoil of the near East. Thus, she had tried to curb the forces of Antiochus III in Asia Minor. When Antiochus IV was already in possession of Egypt, Rome stepped in and compelled him to evacuate the country. And now, when Demetrius, the opponent of Antiochus V, fled from Rome,¹¹⁷ the Roman Senate winked at his escape, hoping that through him the Seleucide kingdom would be weakened. Judas, aware of all this, felt that here lay a great possibility for the Jews to throw off the yoke of the Syrians entirely, and to create again, as in the days before the Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians, an independent Jewish state. He did not succeed in realizing his ambition, but his brother Simon completed the work which Judas began.

In the year 141 the Jewish People declared their independence from the Syrian yoke.¹¹⁸ A great Synagogue was convened, and a Jewish Commonwealth was declared. Simon was appointed head of the Jewish Commonwealth; he was also made high priest, which office was declared hereditary¹¹⁹ for the family of Simon the Hasmonean.

This revolution which won political independence for the Jews wrought a profound effect upon their whole inner life. Both in the social and in the religious life was this effect felt.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Comp. Justin, XXXIV, 3. Pol. XXXI, 11.

¹¹⁸ I Macc. XIV, 27 "On the eighteenth day of Elul, in the hundred and seventy second year".

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 41-47.

The aristocratic Gerusia, which most likely had consisted of priests and had been under the leadership of the High Priest, disappeared. Josephus, in his works, does not mention the institution of the Gerusia after the Hasmonean revolt. Apparently a more democratic government came into existence—the Commonwealth. A graphic picture of the life of the Jews before the Hasmonean period is given us by Ben Sira. He tells us that during his time, the masses, artisans, farmers, who do manual labor and without whom a city cannot exist, nevertheless were excluded from the assemblies. "On the seat of the judge they do not sit, and law and judgment they understand not."¹²⁰

Such a situation could exist before the revolt, but the success of the revolution was made possible only by the masses who had whole-heartedly supported Judas in his struggle. It was their aid that enabled him to resist the Syrians, and henceforth they could not be excluded from the government. At the great Synagogue which proclaimed Jewish independence and at which Simon was chosen head of the Commonwealth, there were present not only priests and elders of the nation, but also the common people.¹²¹

The farmers, *Ame haarez* (Demoi), before the Maccabean period, consisted the bulk of the nation. The inhabitants of the cities were insignificant in numbers, excepting those who lived in Jerusalem. The Jewish population was divided into two major classes, namely, the farmers who tilled the land, and the priests and Levites who were engaged in the service of the Temple. The latter received their remuneration in produce, supplied by the farmers.

In the Hellenistic period and particularly after the successful revolt of the Maccabees the situation changed. Cities were added to Judea on the coast either through conquest or penetration. Trade and commerce began to flourish. The original population rapidly expanded and developed. The *Ame haarez* no longer made up the bulk of the people. Under the Biblical law, the *Ame haarez*, and they alone, had to support the priests and the

¹²⁰ Ben Sira, XXXVIII, 31-34.

¹²¹ I Macc. XIV, 27-28. *בנשׁת הַדּוֹלָה*.

Levites, since the Terumah and Maasrot were given by them. The Am haarez, now began to resent the fact that they alone carried the burden of supporting the priests and the Levites. Many of them refused, therefore, to give Maasrot. This compelled John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, to decree "demoi," that is, that anyone who purchases produce from the farmer must give the tithe to the Levites.¹²²

To this period also we can trace the first clash between the Ame haarez and the Haberim. The Haberim were the members who participated in the city government, called "Boule," or Senate. This antagonism was not only economic, but social as well. The Am haarez strove for social equality with the Haberim on the ground that they had taken a very prominent part in the war for independence. To the struggle between these two elements in the population we may trace the origins of the two factions which came into existence in the last century before the destruction of the Jewish State—the Fourth Philosophy and the Apocalypticists.

In the field of religion a revolutionary change also ensued. Up to the Hasmonean period there is not recorded any Halakah in the name of any individual teacher. Beginning with this period, however, we notice Halakot recorded by individual scribes (Soferim) scholars. The first two men in whose names Halakot are recorded were Jose b. Johanan and Jose b. Joezer; they lived during the Hasmonean period.

And finally, at the head of the Jewish state up to the Maccabean revolt was a Pontiff, a High Priest, in whom were vested both religious and political powers. He and his Gerusia interpreted the Jewish law. But, after the Maccabean revolt, when a Commonwealth was established which had no religious functions, a religious body was organized, probably with the name Sanhedrin, and Jose b. Joezer and Jose b. Johanan were the first two men to lead that institution.¹²³ This institution was soon

¹²² See S. Zeitlin, The Am-haarez, *J.Q.R.*, 1932. *וור על הדתא*. See Appendix E.

¹²³ Idem. The Semikah Controversy between the Zugoth, *J.Q.R.*, 1927. Comp. Idem. Studies in Taanaitic Jurisprudence, Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy, 1919, p. 300, N. 4. See L. Ginzberg, *מקומה של הלכה בחכמת ישראל*, *ירושלים*. It is most likely that the Sanhedrin was instituted at the time of

divided into two factions, one liberal and one conservative. This division made itself felt throughout the entire development of the history of the Halakah.^{123a}

VIII

THE ORIGIN OF THE SADDUCEES, PHARISEES, AND ESSENES

In relating the history of the Hasmoneans, Josephus tells us that at that time three sects existed—the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes.¹²⁴ If this is the case, and we have no reason to doubt Josephus' statement, the question arises as to the attitude of these sects towards the Hellenistic party, and to the revolt against the Syrians under the Hasmonean leadership. To answer this question, it is necessary to recount briefly the history of the origin of these three sects.

Judas Maccabaeus when he had established the courts to judge and punish the people who had transgressed the Jewish law, joined the Syrians and betrayed the Jewish cause. Jose b. Joezer and Jose b. Johanan were at the head of this institution.

^{123a} These two factions were called the Shammaites and Hillelites. The first was the conservative, the second the liberal faction. Although these factions were named after Shammai and Hillel, their ideas were in vogue before their time. These two schools began with Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Johanan. an analogous case may be quoted from Roman history. At the time of Augustus Caesar there came into being two schools of opposing tendencies. The founders of these schools were two jurists Ateius Capito and Antistius Labeo. The first one was a strong supporter of imperial despotism and conservative ideas, while the other influenced by the old republicanism was of independent spirit and more inclined to break established rules, if such would meet life's demands. The schools, were, however, named after later jurists. The followers of the conservative school of Capito were usually called Sabiniani, after a pupil of Capito, those of the liberal school of Labeo were called Proculeiani after Julius Procules, a pupil not of Labeo himself, but of his disciple Nerva, the grandfather of Emperor Nerva. It is worth while to note that for a number of generations from the days of Augustus to those of Antonines, every jurist enrolled himself under one flag or another, and was known either as a Sabinian or a Proculeian. See S. Zeitlin, "Les Principes des Controverses Halahaiques entre les ecole de Schmmai et Hillel." R. E. J. 1932.

¹²⁴ Ant. XIII, 5, 9.

The Sadducees. Numerous hypotheses have been advanced with regard to the meaning of the word Sadducees. The consensus of opinion is that the word Sadducees is derived from the name of the High Priest Zaddok¹²⁵ who lived in the time of Solomon. This theory is supported by many passages of the Talmud where the Sadducees are called צדוקים.¹²⁶ This party consisted mostly of the Jewish aristocracy, headed by the High Priest of the family of Zaddok; and they believed that this family alone had the right to officiate as priests in the Temple. They acknowledged as binding only the written law. Tradition, or interpretation of the written law, they rejected. Nor did they believe that that which was handed down as tradition by the fathers had to be observed.¹²⁷ The origin of this sect can be traced to the time of Ezra, the Scribe. At that time, he and his associates on their return from Babylon attempted to interpret the Torah in accordance with the new spirit of Israel. In this they were opposed by the family of Zaddok who monopolized the entire Temple, and the leadership over the Jews. The Zaddokites—or Sadducees—strongly contested the ideas of Ezra, and what they called Ezra's innovations. The followers of Ezra they dubbed "Perushim," Separatists, who, from their point of view, separated themselves from the Jews.

The Pharisees. Many suggestions likewise have been offered as to the origin of the name of Pharisees.¹²⁸ Some scholars are of the opinion that the word *Perushim* has its origin in the word for interpreter—פְּרָשׁ¹²⁹ others maintain that the word means "they separated"—that is, the members of this sect separated themselves from uncleanness—hence, *Prushim*.¹³⁰ They further maintain that this group held stricter views of the laws of un-

¹²⁵ Geiger, *Sadducäer, und Pharisäer*, Jüd. Z, II, 1863, idem. *Urschrift*, 126.

¹²⁶ Passim. Comp. also Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer*; Derenbourg, *Histoire sur la Palestine*; Schürer, *Gesch.* II, chapter 26, and the literature quoted there.

¹²⁷ Ant. XIII, 10, 6. "But are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers."

¹²⁸ Comp. Schürer, *Ibid.*; Wellhausen, *Ibid.* Also Moore, *Judaism*.

¹²⁹ Graetz, *Gesch.* III. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzaer*. B. Revel, *JQR.*, 1917.

¹³⁰ Geiger, *op. cit.* Moore, *op. cit.*

cleanliness, not only concerning the uncleanness of the pagan, but that also of the Am Haarez.¹³¹

After a careful examination of all the tanaitic literature, however, we conclude that there was no sect among the Jews at the time of the second Temple called "Pharisees." The word was coined and used by the Sadducees who resented the reforms and the new laws which were adopted by Ezra and his associates. These Jews, the followers of Ezra, they nicknamed *Perushim*, *Pharisees*—they had separated themselves from the Jews. Thus, the name *Perushim* was a nickname and a term of contempt.¹³² An analogous use of a contemptuous name may be found in Jewish history of the Eighteenth Century, when the sect of the Hassidim came into existence under the leadership of Israel Baal Shem Tov (the Besht). The Jews who did not accept his new theories were nicknamed by his associates as *Mitnagdim*, those who opposed not only the new sect of *Hassidim* but even, from their view point, Judaism itself.¹³³ Another example may be found in the rise of the Reform movement in the Sixteenth century against the Pope. The Catholics called the people who protested against the Church—Protestants.¹³⁴ History is replete with examples of this nicknaming propensity.

The word *Perushim* is found quite often in tanaitic literature but is never used to apply to a particular sect. It has the general meaning of separatists, [of people who separated themselves from one thing or another. For example, after the destruction of the Temple, many refrained from eating meat or drinking wine because the daily sacrifice could no longer be offered, and the libation of wine was discontinued; these folk are referred to as *Perushim*, or separatists.¹³⁵ When we do have the word *Perushim* in the Talmud as applied to a particular party opposed to the Sadducees, it is found only in some form of dialogue. The Sad-

¹³¹ Schürer, *Ibid.* Moore, *Ibid.*

¹³² See S. Zeitlin, *Pharisees*, *JQR.*, 1926.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ See Kattenbusch, *Realencyklopädie für protestantliche Theologie und Kirche*.

¹³⁵ Talmud, B. B. 60b: *כשהרב הבית בשגיה רבו פרושים בישראל שלא לאכלי בשר: תניא יהודה בן דORTHAI פירש הוא ודורתאי בנו: Comp. also Pes. 70a: ושלא לשחוות יין וhalb וישב לו בדרום . . . אמר רבי אשין ואנן טעמא דפרושים ניקו ונפרש*

ducees say, "We protest against you, Pharisees." The Pharisees retort, "We protest against you, Sadducees." This does not prove that there was a sect by the name of *Perushim*, Pharisees.¹³⁶ It proves merely a conversational convenience. A modern historian might record a controversy in the form of a dialogue between the Hassidim and the Mitnagdim. The Hassidim would say, "We are against you, *Mitnagdim*;" and the *Mitnagdim* would answer, "We are against you, *Hassidim*." The words used in such a dramatic dialogue would not prove that there was a sect by the name of *Mitnagdim*. There was a sect called *Hassidim*. The Hassidim called all those Jews who opposed their theories *Mitnagdim*. In a similar manner those of the Jewish people who opposed the theories of the Zaddokim, the Sadducees, were called by the Sadducees, *Perushim*, Pharisees.

It is true that Josephus calls the sects Sadducees and Pharisees in his history of the Jewish people. But this again does not prove that there was a Pharisaic sect, recognized as such. Josephus uses the word Pharisees as the opponents of the Sadducees. As a modern historian, writing a Jewish history of the 18th Century, would recount the conflicts between the *Hassidim* and the *Mitnagdim*, although no such sect actually existed, except as counterfoil to the Hassidim and as such so denominated by them, so Josephus writing his history uses the nomenclature created by the Sadducees to mark out their opponents.¹³⁷

That there was no Pharisaic sect can be further proved by the fact that, in the entire tanaitic literature, there is not found a single Halakah in the name of the *Perushim*, as "The *Perushim* say,"¹³⁸ while we do find the expression "The Wise Men say."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ אומרים צדוקים קובלין אנו עליכם פרושים . . . אומרים: הפטושים קובלין אנו עליכם צדוקים.

¹³⁷ We do find in the New Testament some references to the Pharisees. This however, does not prove that there was really a Pharisaic sect. The compilers of the Gospels use the words Pharisees and Sadducees when referring to the people opposed to their ideas, in the same manner as the leaders of the Haskala in their arguments against the Rabbis who opposed their ideas referred to some of them as Hassidim and to others as Mitnagdim, although no sect by the name Mitnagdim actually existed.

¹³⁸ הפטושים אומרים.

¹³⁹ חכמים אומרים.

Furthermore in the famous story recorded in Talmud Kiddushin concerning the breach between John Hyrcanus Jannai and the Perushim, it is stated that Eliezer said to Jannai: "The Perushim are not loyal to you." When thereupon Jannai joined the Sadducees, the Talmud does not say that the Perushim left him, but uses the expression "The Wise Men left Jannai."¹⁴⁰

One of the many points of conflict between the Sadducees and the so-called Pharisees, from the beginning up to the destruction of the Temple, centered in the Halakah. The Sadducees, as we have already pointed out, were the aristocratic party headed by the High Priest. They thought that Jewish life should be guided only by the High Priest and the Gerusia which was under his leadership. According to their point of view the laws of the Torah alone were authoritative.¹⁴¹ They were not interested in harmonizing religion with life so as to make it possible for the people to observe the Law. The so-called Pharisees, on the other hand, strove to bring religion into consonance with life, and to amend the Pentateuchal law where life's demands required it. The spirit of these liberal tendencies is immanent in all the Halakot of the Perushim.

The Laws of the Sabbath. According to the Bible no Jew was allowed to go out from his "place" on the Sabbath. "Abide ye every man in his place."¹⁴² Let no man go out from his place on the Sabbath day. The word *חצר* was already translated by the Septuagint to mean "house." "You should sit each of you in your house."¹⁴³

To make the laws of the Sabbath less burdensome (since the sages felt that the Sabbath was made for the people, not the people for the Sabbath) the rabbis declared that a Jew has the right to walk from his house or from any other place which he

¹⁴⁰ Kid. 66a: *וַיַּדְלֹו חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּוּם* . . . *וַיַּאֲמִלֵּךְ לְבָם שֶׁל פְּרוֹשִׁים עַלִּיךְ*.

¹⁴¹ According to some scholars the Sadducees accepted the Five Books of Moses, but rejected the prophets. (Comp. Schürer II, 410, n. 25.) It is possible that the Sadducees accepted also the Prophets, but certainly rejected the Hagiographa, as the third part of the Bible was canonized only in the year sixty-five, C. E.

¹⁴² Exodus XVI, 29.

¹⁴³ καθήσεσθε ἐκαστος εἰς τοὺς οἴκους νυμῶν.

has made his abode on the eve of the Sabbath, a distance of two thousand cubits.¹⁴⁴ These two thousand cubits were permissible only if he had prepared the place or lived in it before. If, however, he had been brought to another place by physical force, *vis absoluta*, he is not permitted to walk the two thousand cubits.¹⁴⁵ The same ordinance applies if a Jew came to Jerusalem from another city on the Sabbath day by permission, e. g. one who witnessed the birth of the new moon, and therefore had the right to travel on the Sabbath to get to Jerusalem. But, after testifying, he had to remain in the courtyard the whole day and had not the right to walk around in Jerusalem proper. Rabban Gamaliel was the first to institute a Takkana (reform) that the people who came to testify to the birth of the new moon had the same privileges as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were permitted to walk a distance of two thousand cubits around his place of testimony.¹⁴⁶

To make the laws of the Sabbath easier the rabbis interpreted the word "makom" to mean city, and applied the principle of the two thousand cubits to refer to the whole city.¹⁴⁷ Thus a Jew had the right not only to walk in the city itself, but also two thousand cubits outside the city limits.¹⁴⁸ This is called the "Sabbatic Journey."^{148a} The Pharisees who strove all the time to amend the Halakah in accordance with life's needs, instituted the law of "Erub," i. e., a symbolic act by which the legal fiction of continuity is established, and thus gave the Jews the right to walk two thousand cubits from the city itself. That is, if a person deposits certain food at a definite place before the Sabbath or holiday, he transfers, as it were, his abode to that place by this act, and from that place the two thousand cubits are measured.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Tosefta, Er. 73.

¹⁴⁵ Mishna ibid. IV.

¹⁴⁶ R. H. II, 5. ה策 נדולה היהת בירושלים ובית יוק היהת נקראת ולשם כל העדים מהכנים . . . בראשונה לא היו יוין משם כל הימים והקון רבנן גמליאל הוקן שהיה מהלכון אלף אמרה לכל רוח

¹⁴⁷ Tos. Er. IV, 7; Mishna, Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Tos. Ibid.

^{148a} החים שבת. See Acts, 1, 12. A Sabbath day's journey.

¹⁴⁹ מי שאינו מורה בערוב.

The Laws of Levitical Uncleanliness. According to the Biblical law, if a person became unclean the mere bathing of the body in water was not sufficient to render the person levitically clean; he had to wait until evening.¹⁵⁰ This was a great hardship for the Jews of that period, as it hampered them in their daily life. The rabbis, therefore, amended the law concerning impurity. They explained that the Biblical law which says that a man who was unclean must wait until sunset refers only to the priests in the case of eating Terumah;¹⁵¹ Otherwise mere washing of the body suffices to make the person pure again, and it was not necessary for him to wait until sunset. Even this prerequisite of washing the body the Pharisees considered might become, under certain conditions, a hardship, and they modified this law by instituting the washing of the hands as a sufficient substitute to render the person levitically pure.¹⁵²

According to the Biblical law, if water was put upon seed, the seed becomes susceptible to levitical uncleanness and no distinction is made between seed which is attached to the soil and that which is detached.¹⁵³ This law would make it impossible for the Jews to use grain imported from Alexandria as it was susceptible to uncleanness due to the water wheel with which the Egyptians irrigated their fields, and thence was exposed to unclean objects.¹⁵⁴ The rabbis, therefore, interpreted the word *seed* to mean only seed detached from the soil becomes susceptible to levitical uncleanness when water has been put upon it, but not while still attached to the ground.¹⁵⁵ From these few instances we see clearly that the Halakah was not rigid, but was rather

¹⁵⁰ Num. XIX, 2; Deut. XXIII.

¹⁵¹ See S. Zeitlin, *Takkanot Ezra*, *JQR*, 1917.

¹⁵² Idem. The Halakah in the Gospel, H.U.C.A. I, 1917. *מפני הצדוקים שלא יהו אומרים* *במעורבי* *שם* *הית נעשה* *Parah*, III, 7.

¹⁵³ Lev. XI. *ובין יין טים על זרע*.

¹⁵⁴ Tos. *Maksh.* III, 3. *חטים* *הבאות* *מלכסנדריא* *של* *מצדים* *טמאח* *מפני* *אנטלייא* *שבהן*. The word *אנטלייא*, *ἀντλίαν* is the water wheel with which the Egyptians irrigated their fields from the Nile. See S. Zeitlin, The Semikah Controversy between the Zugoth, *JQR*, 1917. See L. Ginzberg, *מקומה של הלכה בחכמת ישדאל*.

¹⁵⁵ *Sifra Shmini XI*, and to this Pharisaic innovation, the Sadducees were opposed. *אומרים* *צדוקים* *קובלון* *אנו עליכם* *פרושים* *שאתם* *מזהרים* *את* *הנזוק*. See *Takkanot Ezra*, S. Zeitlin, *JQR*, 1917.

elastic and plastic, and that the Pharisees from time to time modified the Halakot in order to make the law accord with the requirements and demands of life.^{155a}

The controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees centered not only on the interpretation of the Bible, but involved a much wider conception, namely, the nature of the Jewish State. The Pharisees endeavored to make the Jewish religion not only a state religion, but an individual religion. Before the revolt of the Hasmoneans, the Jewish religious life was concentrated in the hands of the priests. The Israelites did not participate in the ceremonies which took place in the Temple. After the revolt, when the Pharisees became a force in Judea, they insisted that the Israelites should take part in the religious ceremony, as well as the priests, and they maintained that the daily sacrifice should be brought from the communal treasury, and the Israelites should participate in the slaughtering of this sacrifice.

According to the Sadducees the Feast of Pentecost had to fall on a Sunday; the Pharisees maintained that it should fall on the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of Nisan.¹⁵⁶ This controversy about the date of the Festival of Pentecost is due to the fact

^{155a} In the Gospels the Pharisees are called hypocrites, "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." The word, Pharisaism, became a synonym for hypocrisy and in this sense is used by many modern writers. That Pharisaism was not an organized form of hypocrisy is quite evident as no people could survive with such an intolerable religion. Furthermore, the account given in the Gospel according to Mark, 7, 2-8, that the Pharisees were called hypocrites because they insisted on washing their hands before meals, cannot be regarded as historical, as the institution of the washing of the hands came into existence after the days of Jesus, and hence they could not be reproached by Jesus on this account (S. Zeitlin, *The Halakah and the Gospels*, H.U.C.A. I.). There is a likelihood that the Jewish Christians who had previously been disciples of the rabbis (Pharisees) reproached their former teachers for not being consistent in their development of the Halakah in such a way as to make the law meet the requirements of life, and in the heat of the argument they called them hypocrites.

The Pharisees gained the reputation of being scrupulously religious for which they were respected by the masses. Many Jews, to be sure for personal profit, put on the cloak of greater piety than they possessed and called themselves Pharisees. Such Jews were indeed rebuked by the Talmudists. Comp. *Sotah* 21b. *Yer. Ibid.* 19a. Comp. Moore, *Judaism* II, 192.

¹⁵⁶ *Tos. Men.* X, 23. *Mishna, Ibid.* VI.

that in the Bible this holiday has no fixed date. The two other major holidays—Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles—had fixed dates. The former (according to Lev. 23) falls on the fifteenth of Nisan, and the latter on the fifteenth of Tishri. The Lawgiver, after telling about the holiday of Passover, continues thus. “When ye come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest. And he shall wave a sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you on the morrow of the Sabbath. The priest shall wave it . . . And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering. Seven Sabbaths shall be complete. Even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number fifty days and you shall offer a new meal offering unto the Lord.”¹⁵⁷ Pentecost is on the fiftieth day after the day of the Omer. The Lawgiver does not indicate any date for this holiday, except by indirection. It depends entirely on the day of the Omer, which again has no fixed date, but is recorded between Passover and the Festival of the first day of the seventh month.

In the early Hellenistic period, when the Jewish calendar was changed from a solar to a lunar-solar calendar,¹⁵⁸ a fixed date for Pentecost had to be set. The Sadducees were of the opinion that Pentecost should always be on the “morrow of the Sabbath,” that is on Sunday, since this holiday is entirely dependent on the day of the Omer, which, they maintained, could never fall on a Sabbath. The reason was this: If we should assume that the Omer could fall on any day of the week, including Saturday, work would have to be done in the fields on the Sabbath to reap the Omer, and it therefore meant profaning the Sabbath. The fact that sacrifices were brought to the Temple on the Sabbath could not be used to refute this stand because this was done by the priests in the Temple and was allowed

¹⁵⁷ Lev. 23, 4–22.

¹⁵⁸ See S. Zeitlin, *Some Stages of the Jewish Calendar*, 1929. Idem, Notes Relatives au Calendrier Juif, *REJ*, 1930. See Appendix F.

according to the Pentateuch.^{158a} The Pharisees, on the other hand, maintained that the Feast of Pentecost should fall on the fiftieth day after the Omer regardless of the day of the week; and the day of the Omer is to be fixed as of the sixteenth of Nisan, the morrow after the first day of Passover. Moreover, they believed that, if in the Temple, a priest may work, an Israelite may be permitted to reap the Omer on the Sabbath.^{158b} Thus they interpreted the phrase "the morrow of the Sabbath" to mean the morrow of the first day of Passover.¹⁵⁹ A very interesting story is told in the Mishnah of Menahot. When the sixteenth of Nisan fell on a Sabbath, the farmers reaped the Omer on the Sabbath, they asked "Is to-day Sabbath?" and the reply was "Yes." Then they asked "May I reap?" and the answer returned was "Yes."¹⁶⁰ This was repeated three times to demonstrate that, as in the Temple, the priest is allowed to work on Sabbath, so the Israelites, in order to bring in the Omer and the First Fruits, were allowed to work on the Sabbath.¹⁶¹

^{158a} Comp. the Gospel according to Matthew, 12, 5.

^{158b} According to the Gospel of Matthew XII, 1-6 (Comp. Mark XXIII, 23-24, Luke VI, 1-3) Jesus and his disciples went on the Sabbath day through the corn fields and the disciples plucked the ears of the corn to eat. The Pharisees rebuked Jesus for doing this. Jesus replied "Have you not read in the law how on the Sabbath day the priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless?" The Pharisees were of the opinion that the Israelites as well as the priests have a right to profane the Sabbath, but only when this has to do with the Temple or with religion or in order to save a man's life, but they denied this privilege to the disciples of Jesus, since they did not believe that Jesus was the Messiah, "The Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath day." This was the bone of contention between the Jewish Christians and the Pharisees. More about Pharisaism in the New Testament will be taken up in the second volume.

¹⁵⁹ See S. Zeitlin. The Date of the Crucifixion According to the Fourth Gospel, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1932.

¹⁶⁰ Mishna, Men. X, 3: בשבת אומר להם שבת זו ואומרים חן . . . אקצור, והם אומרים לא קצור . . . נ' פעמים על כל דבר ודבר . . . וכל כך למה מפני הצדוקים (bihotim) שהיו אומרים אין קצירה העומר במצויא יומ טוב.

¹⁶¹ The opinion which was expressed by L. Finkelstein held (Harvard Theological Review XXII) that the controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees on the day of Pentecost was on the question as to whether the Pentecost was to commemorate the Day of Revelation. This point is without any foundation. We do not find anywhere in the Talmud that such a con-

We likewise see that the Pharisees stood for the democratization of the institutions of Jewish life and endeavored to bring the Jews into immediate contact with the Temple service. They opposed its monopolization by the priests. The Sadducees wanted the daily sacrifice to be considered a private sacrifice;¹⁶² thus only the rich could afford the luxury of it, for only they could offer the Temple treasury the money necessary for the purchase of cattle for the daily sacrifice. The Pharisees, on the other hand, maintained that the daily sacrifice was not to be considered an individual matter, but should be the concern of the entire community.¹⁶³ The money for the purchase of the cattle should come from the whole Jewish people, and the animals should be bought from the funds of the treasury.

The Pharisees were not satisfied that the cattle should be merely purchased with the communal funds; they wanted the entire nation to participate in the ceremony of the slaughtering of the daily sacrifices, morning and afternoon. For this purpose the Israelites, the inhabitants of the city, towns, and villages were divided into twenty-four divisions called "Ma'amadot."

troversy existed between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. We have reason to believe that the idea that the Festival of Pentecost is connected with Revelation belongs to the period after the destruction of the Temple. Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Jose were the first Tannaim mentioned who connected the Feast of Weeks with the day of Revelation. Comp. *Shab.* 88, and *Seder Olam*. From the *Tos. Ar.* 1, 9, we infer that the Festival of Pentecost may fall on either the fifth, sixth, or the seventh of Sivan. If this holiday were instituted to commemorate the Day of Revelation, the Jews would have had a fixed date for it, as they had a fixed date for the holiday of Passover, the 15th of Nisan, regardless as to whether the month of Nisan is intercalated or not. The holidays of Passover and Tabernacles besides being agricultural holidays, also had a religious significance. Pentecost was a purely agricultural holiday and the Pentateuch does not connect it with any religious event. As long as the Temple stood, Pentecost was a great holiday, as the Jews brought their first fruit to Jerusalem, but after the destruction of the Temple when sacrifices were discontinued there was no more *raison d'être* for this holiday. The Rabbis therefore connected Pentecost with the Day of Revelation, as according to the Pentateuch, the Ten Commandments were given on Mt. Sinai in the third month, which is Sivan.

¹⁶² *שהיו הצדוקים אומרים יחד מביא וממנדרב* *Men.* 65a.

¹⁶³ *שהיו כולם באן מתרומה הלשכה* *Ibid.*

The members of each Ma'amad were to go to the Temple to take part in the slaughtering of the daily sacrifice. The members of the division represented the entire Jewish people, as not all the members of the Ma'amad could go or wished to go to Jerusalem; the part that actually went served as representatives of the Ma'amad and the entire Jewish people. The members that remained at home gathered in their respective cities and towns on the days on which they were supposed to be in Jerusalem and read portions of the Torah relating to the sacrifice. From this institution of the Ma'amadot later developed the institution of the Synagogue.¹⁶⁴

According to Josephus, the Pharisees believed in the doctrine of reward and punishment while the Sadducees did not.¹⁶⁵ The Sadducees who interpreted the letter of the Torah held that the person who does a good deed will live long and will enjoy life, and he who commits a sin will die; furthermore, they were of the opinion that the State had the authority to punish anyone who breaks a law of the Torah. The Pharisees, on the other hand, were confronted with the problem that the just man suffers in this world and the wicked man seems to prosper—the same problem that faced the author of the Book of Job. They, therefore, developed the idea that the Biblical expression which says that the person who does good deeds will live long, while the wicked will die, does not refer to this world at all, but to the Hereafter; moreover, it does not refer to the body but to the soul, as the body is mortal. Thus the soul of the righteous will enjoy immortality, and will be rewarded; but the soul of the wicked will suffer punishment in the life after death. This theological conception came into being and developed more strongly at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Jewish religion was being persecuted, and when the Jews were forbidden to observe their laws under penalty of death.

The author of the Second Book of Maccabees informs us that the martyred brethren, while they were being tortured by the

¹⁶⁴ S. Zeitlin, The Origin of the Synagogue, *The Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, 1931.

¹⁶⁵ B. J. II, 8, 14; Ant. XVIII, 1, 3-4.

Syrians, said to the King that they were happy to die; for the King of the World would raise them up to life everlasting—their just reward for observing faithfully the laws of God.¹⁶⁶

The Essenes. According to the most widely accepted opinion the word "Essenes" derives from the Hebrew word "Hassidim."¹⁶⁷ This theory can be substantiated by the full account given both by Josephus and Philo concerning their mode of life and philosophy. We have pointed out above that the Hassidim were individualists. They were concerned with the cure of their own souls and the observance of the commandments of God; they were not concerned with the Jews as a people. They joined the Hasmoneans only when the revolt spread throughout Judea. The members of the Essene sect likewise were individualists they were the successors of the earlier Hassidim. As we have already learned, as soon as the Jews received religious freedom, the Hassidim withdrew from the Hasmoneans, and refused to continue to help them in their struggle for the independence of the Jewish State.

When Jonathan, and later Simon, who were not of the family of Zaddok, were appointed as High Priests, the Hassidim protested against this innovation which they considered a profanation of the Temple; from their point of view only the family of Zaddok may serve in the Temple. That is the significance of what Josephus says: They did not send any sacrifice to the Temple. They had their own priests, and their table was made the substitute for the altar.¹⁶⁸ They were strict in their observance of the laws of the Bible. Since they could not observe the laws in the cities where the Pharisees had modified the Halakot, they formed communities of their own where it was possible for them to live according to their own customs. They never participated in the life of the Jewish State, and therefore nowhere

¹⁶⁶ II Mac. 7, 9.

¹⁶⁷ Comp. Schürer, *Gesch.* II, and literature there quoted; Moore, *Judaism* 1, 272.

¹⁶⁸ B. J. II, 8, 2-13; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*. Comp. J. Felten, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte oder Judentum und Heidentum zur Zeit Christi und der Apostel*, I. Klausner, 20, 11, היסטוריה ישראלית.

in the Talmud do we find any controversy between them and either of the other two parties, the Sadducees or the Pharisees. The Sadducees, although they were also inclined to strict observance of the Law, many times however had to yield to the Pharisees; for many controversies arose between them and the people anent the laws, the Temple, and the management of the State.

After this short survey of the different sects, their origins and what they stood for, during the first period of the second Temple, I believe that their respective attitudes towards the Hellenistic party will make themselves clear. We can eliminate the Essenes since they were the successors of the Hassidim, and did not exist at the time of the revolt.

The Sadducees who comprised chiefly the high priestly families and the upper classes¹⁶⁹ were the first to adopt the customs of the Hellenes. As a rule, the upper classes of subjugated peoples adopt the customs of their conquerors and are willing to become assimilated. The Zaddokites, moved by personal interest in their own financial well-being, joined the family of Tobias, but we certainly cannot assume that all the Zaddokites joined Menelaus. Many of them, however, followed Jason, and even Jason's brother Onias III. When the Jewish religion was persecuted by Antiochus and the Temple was defiled, many of the Zaddokites suffered like the rest of the people, and later joined the Hasmoneans against the Syrians. When the Jews declared their independence, the Zaddokites who previously had been anxious to maintain the High Priestly office for the family of Zaddok, and were therefore called Zaddokites, now joined the family of the Hasmoneans since it was to the interest of the wealthy class to be associated with the ruling family. They were for a strong nationalistic state and even in some way imperialistic, that is, it was their intention to conquer cities and countries to add to Palestine. The Pharisees, who represented the interests of the poor people and the middle class, were always against conquest, as that would increase the burden of taxation on the people. When the Hasmonean family was overthrown by Herod

¹⁶⁹ Ant. XIII, 10, 6; B. J. II, & 14.

and he proclaimed himself king, the Zaddokites later joined the Herodian family.

The Pharisees. We have endeavored to show that the Pharisees were not a party in the accepted sense of the word. They were the people at large. They stood aloof from the forces of assimilation. The Hellenistic culture did not penetrate into their ranks. When Antiochus persecuted the Jews, they supplied the martyrs. When the Hasmoneans arose against the Syrians, they provided the rank and file of the Maccabean forces. After the victory of the Hasmoneans and the endeavor to establish a new State, a clash broke out between the Pharisees and the Sadducees; that was the first conflict between them. Previous to the victory, Jerusalem was controlled by the Sadducees, while after the victory, when, with the aid of the masses the Hasmoneans won their battles, we find the Pharisees riding to power in the new State.

The Hasmoneans made it possible for the Jews to gain their independence through statesmanship and political strategy. But the Pharisees made it possible for Judaism to survive the catastrophe which befell them in the year 70. Judaism was formed by them. The institutions which emerged during that period and continued until our day were established by them. They helped the Jews to preserve their integrity, to keep Judaism alive in the face of massacre, inquisition, and persecution, to overcome the debilitating atmosphere of Exile, and to remain loyal at the time of emancipation and assimilation. The Pharisees not only made it possible for the Jews to overcome the influence of Hellenism; they revolutionized the entire Western world, transforming barbarians into civilized beings. Here we have in mind the decline of paganism and the rise of Christianity. This change in Western civilization is largely due to the influence of Judaism as perpetuated by the Pharisees.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ The apostle Peter was a Jew, whose name was Simon; and Paul the real force in spreading Christianity in the Hellenistic world was a Jew by the name of Saul. According to the authority of Eusebius, one of the early official church historians, the first fifteen bishops were Jews (The church History, IV, 5). These men of Jewish birth and also largely of Jewish culture were responsible for the complete revolution in civilization in the modern world.

The ideals and ideas which were developed by the Pharisees in that period gave strength and courage to the Jews in the centuries of their dispersion and wandering, privation and degradation. "*To hope and to suffer*" became the motto of the Jewish people. This motto did not arise as a consequence of outer circumstances, but was the result of spiritual integrity and idealism crystallized by the Pharisees.

APPENDIX A

SANBALLAT THE SAMARITAN

The identity of "Sanballat" is difficult to establish because of confusion in the sources themselves; yet a careful scrutiny of the texts involved will, I believe, enable us to ascertain the historical truth.

Josephus, in XI, 8, 2, tells us that a certain Menasseh, the brother of Jaddua, the High Priest, married Sanballat's daughter. For this he was driven from the Temple in Jerusalem. Thereupon, Sanballat promised his son-in-law to approach Darius, the Persian King, for permission to build a Temple on Mt. Gerizim where he might officiate as High Priest.

Josephus continues the narrative and further tells us that, when Alexander besieged the city of Tyre, Sanballat came with an army to his aid. In exchange for this service he requested permission to build a Temple on Mt. Gerisim. He explained that he sought to provide a Temple for his son-in-law, Menasseh, who was a brother of Jaddua, the High Priest in Jerusalem.

According to Nehemiah XIII, 28, the man who married the daughter of Sanballat, was the son of Joiada [Judas] the High Priest.

There is undoubtedly confusion between the two sources. For, if Sanballat lived at the time of Darius II, he could not have lived at the time of Alexander. Furthermore, we learn from the Papyrus No. 30, in A. Cowley, "*Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*,"—a letter which was sent by the Jews of Elephantine to the High Priest John—that these Jews also sent a letter to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. The letter was sent in the seventeenth year of King Darius, in the year 408 B.C.E. Now, if Sanballat was governor of Samaria in 408, and had grown sons at that time, he must have been at least 40 or 45 years of age, and it is hardly possible that he could have lived until the time of Alexander. We must also rule out as impossible the hypothesis of the existence of two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria, and each having a daughter.

who married a brother of the High Priest of Jerusalem. This would strain credulity to the breaking point.

The story as given by Josephus, I believe, is historically true. There was a Sanballat who lived in the time of Alexander; and there was a Sanballat who lived in the time of Darius. It is their relationship that has been confused. The Sanballat whose daughter married a High Priest lived at the time of Darius and, as was often done at the time, she named her son Sanballat after her father. It was this second Sanballat who was governor of Samaria in the time of Alexander. Evidently Josephus confused the two Sanballats and says that the daughter of the later Sanballat married into the family of the High Priest, while in truth it was the daughter of the earlier Sanballat as is told in Nehemiah.

According to Josephus, "Antiquities," XIII, 9, John Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan Temple which had been in existence for two hundred years. This destruction took place in the year 128-127. This brings us to the time of Alexander and confirms our contention that the Temple in Samaria was built at the time of Alexander 329-327 and was destroyed in 128-127. (See also Cowley op. cit. p. 108-110.)

A very interesting and stimulating paper on the subject of the priesthood of the post-exilic period was read by Dr. Julian Morganstern before the American Oriental Society, in 1933 in New York, called, "A Chapter in the History of the Post-Exilic High Priesthood."

APPENDIX B

THE JEWS IN ALEXANDRIA

The Jews in Alexandria possessed equal rights with the Greeks. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Ptolemies took Egypt by force, and ruled over a country which consisted mainly of Hellenized Syrians, Macedonians, and Jews. The two last races particularly had equal rights and were called Alexandrians.

The Jews had received special privileges. They were not to be compelled to worship the State religion. They were permitted to worship their own God, and to have their own houses of worship—Proseuche. This privilege was very important, as the

Hellenes did not as yet know the idea of separation of religion from the State; a citizen of a Hellenistic *polis* had to worship the gods of that State. The Ptolemies granted the privileges of asylum to the Proseuche on a par with the Temples of Egypt; in the gymnasium and in all other activities of the *polis* the Jews had equal rights.

The position of the Jews in Alexandria, it seems to me, was analogous to the position of the Jews of America, England and France to-day. They are citizens of their respective countries, but have their own religious and cultural institutions. Thus, when we speak of matters peculiar to Jews, we say the Jews of America; but in matters which do not refer particularly to Jews, they are referred to as Americans or Frenchmen. With this point of view in mind we can better understand the meaning of the letter of Claudius Caesar where he says (Antiquities XIX, 5, 2): "The Jews of Alexandria called Alexandrians." 'Αλεξανδρεῖς 'Ιουδαίος 'Αλεξανδρεῖς λεγομένος (comp. B. J. II, XVIII, 7, 'Αλεξανδρέων . . . Ἐλλησιν . . . Ιουδαίων, ibid. 9, τοιοῦτον μὲν τό κατὰ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν πάθος συνηνέχθη).

This expression precipitated much discussion among scholars. I believe that the meaning of the above sentence is quite clear. The Jews in Alexandria, although they were exempt from worshipping Alexandrian gods, were called Alexandrians; and Claudius commanded the authorities of Alexandria not to deprive the Jews of this privilege, but to permit them to live according to their own customs.

Apion, according to Josephus ("Contra Apion") wondered how the Jews could call themselves Alexandrians since they did not worship the gods of the Alexandrians. Josephus maintains that he was ignorant of the documents which were granted the Jews, first by the Ptolemies and then by Julius Caesar. The letter found among the papyri (see H. I. Bell, "Jews and Christians in Egypt," 1924, T. Reinach, *REJ*, 1924.) in which Claudius commands the Alexandrians not to deprive the Jews who had been living in Alexandria for a long time of the custom of worshipping their God, and that, further, the Jews should not send special delegations, as it would appear that these delegations are from two different cities, this letter is the basis

of much discussion. From the manner of expression in which Claudius' command is couched many scholars try to prove that the Jews were not called Alexandrians since they were referred to as the "Jews of Alexandria." This, however, does not prove that the Jews were not Alexandrian citizens, for Claudius was concerned in this letter with a peculiar Jewish problem, and therefore speaks of the Jews of Alexandria in the same manner as, in matters peculiarly Jewish, we would refer to the Jews of America. The fact that he did not permit the Jews to send a special delegation shows that they were regarded as full-fledged citizens of Alexandria.

In this letter Claudius continues to say that the Jews should not try to get into the athletic clubs and gymnasiums, but otherwise to get the benefits that they had in a foreign city. Moreover they were asked not to bring their fellow Jews into Egypt from Syria by way of the sea. Some scholars maintain that this shows clearly that the Jews were not citizens of Alexandria. It seems to me, however, that the last clause does not refer to the Jews who lived in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, and who were regarded as citizens in the same way as the Macedonians. This can refer only to the immigrants who came to Egypt much later. These Jews could obtain citizenship only by the acceptance of the State religion. And since they did not have the privileges given the Jews by the Ptolemies, neither did they have the right of joining the gymnasiums, as this was a sign of citizenship.

Since the days of Julius Caesar, when Egypt was added to Syria and became a Roman province, many Jews migrated to Egypt; it was against these Jews that Claudius instituted the above restrictions. Thus, there were two kinds of Jews in Alexandria, the so-called natives who enjoyed full citizenship, and the new-comers who, though they were part of the Jewish community, did not enjoy full citizenship.

The letter of Claudius Caesar on the Jewish question, Papyrus No. 1912, quoted by Bell, reads as follows:

"As to the question which of you were responsible for the riot and feud (or rather, if the truth must be told, the war) against the Jews, I was unwilling to commit myself to a decided

judgment, though your ambassadors, and particularly Dionysius, son of Theon, pleaded your cause with much zeal in confrontation (with their opponents), and I must reserve for myself an unyielding indignation against whoever caused this renewed outbreak; but I tell you plainly that if you do not desist from this baneful and obstinate mutual hostility I shall perforce be compelled to show what a benevolent prince can be when turned to just indignation. Wherefore I conjure ye just once again that, on the one side, the Alexandrines show themselves forbearing and kindly towards the Jews who for many years have dwelt in the same city, and offer no outrage to them in the exercise of their traditional worship, but permit them to observe their customs as in the time of Divus Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have confirmed; and, on the other side, I bid the Jews not to busy themselves about anything beyond what they have held hitherto, and not henceforth as if you and they lived in two cities, to send two embassies—a thing such as never occurred before now—nor to strive in gymnasiarchic or cosmetic games, but to profit by what they possess, and enjoy in a city not their own abundance of all good things, and not to introduce or invite Jews who sail down to Alexandria from Syria or Egypt, thus compelling me to conceive the greater suspicion; otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenting a general plague for the whole world. If, desisting on both sides from these proceedings, you are willing to live with mutual forbearance and kindness, I on my side will continue to display the time-honoured solicitude for the interests of the city, with which my family has a traditional friendship."

With the problem of the Jews of Alexandria and Syria and the development of anti-semitism I shall deal separately in connection with the history of the Jews in the Diaspora.

Comp. H. I. Bell, "Jews and Christians in Egypt," 1924; Max Radin, *Classical Philology*, 1925, 368–75. De Sanctis, *Rivista di Filologia classica*, 1924, 473–513; Wilcken, Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus, *Abh. Kon. S. G. d. W.* 1909, 783–839; Schürer, "Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes," III; J. Juster, "Les Juifs dan L'Empire Romain;" Th. Reinach, *REJ*,

1924, 113-144; Laqueur, *Klio*, XX, p. 89; Fuchs, "Die Juden Aegyptiens in Ptolemaischer und Romischer Zeit," 1924; Stähelin, "Der Antisemitismus des Altertums" 1905 J. Klausner, *ההיסטוריה של היהודים והيونים*, תל אביב, and A. Tscherikower, *ישראלית*.

APPENDIX C

THE SONS OF JOSEPH

Some scholars are of the opinion that Joseph, the son of Tobiah, was not of Jewish origin. This hypothesis must be discarded. Our main opposition to it is based on the Jewish attitude towards intermarriage at that time.

Tobiah, we know, was the son-in-law of the High Priest Simon I. It is unbelievable that the High Priest would give his daughter in marriage to a man who was not of Jewish origin. It is true that there was intermarriage between a certain Ammonite and the High Priestly family (Nehemiah 6); but Menasseh, who had married a non-Jewish wife, was expelled from the Temple (Josephus XI). After the reform of Nehemiah a strong reaction took place in Jerusalem against intermarriage and it is most unlikely that a daughter of the High Priest would be married to an Ammonite.

From contemporary literature we learn that the Jews stressed inter-family marriage. In the Book of Tobit (I, 9), we find that Tobit says: "I took a wife of the seed of our own family." Further we read that Raguel said to Tobias that he consented to give his daughter Sarah to him as a wife "because thou art our nearest kin." In Judith (VIII, 2) we learn that "her husband was Manasses of her tribe and her family." From this we can readily see that the Jews recognized the importance of inter-family marriage. It would therefore be impossible to believe that the High Priest would give his daughter to an Ammonite.

An additional reason would strengthen this belief. The inter-family marriage would certainly be more observed among the priests since a daughter marrying out of the priestly family would not be able to eat *Terumah*, as *Terumah* can only be taken by the priestly family. Her marrying out of the family would

cause great inconvenience as she would not be able to eat at her father's table. In the course of this note I shall endeavor to show that Joseph was a priest.

Büchler (*Die Tobiaden und Die Oniaden*," p. 80) already suggested that Menelaus was a son of Joseph. He is quite right in his assumption, but we would add that Menelaus was a priest also. Scholars maintain (Schürer, 1, p. 195) that Menelaus was not of the priestly family since he was a brother to Simon and, according to the second Book of Maccabees, was of the tribe of Benjamin. We, however, pointed out above that the word *φύλη* does not necessarily mean tribe. It may mean "family." Moreover, from the Tosefta Taanit we learn that there was a priestly family Benjamin. The scholars who are of the opinion that Menelaus was not a priest try to deduce this from the first Book of Maccabees VII, 14 where the story is related that, when Alchimus was appointed High Priest by the King, the Hassidim sought peace with him and said: "Alchimus is a priest of the seed of Aaron." They hold that, since the author of this passage stresses that Alchimus was a priest, it implies that Menelaus was not a priest. Tscherikower, I believe, is quite right when he says on page 197, Note 3, that this statement is really in opposition to the Syrians, but not to Menelaus whose name is not even mentioned in the first Book of Maccabees. To this we must add that Josephus in Antiquities 20, says that Menelaus, although he was a priest, was not of the family of Onias. That is to say, the Hassidim were ready to welcome Alchimus since he was not of the Tobias family which was responsible for the defilement of the Temple.

Menelaus and Onias, the High Priest, according to Josephus Antiquities XII, 5, I, were brothers. The passage reads as follows:

"But this Jesus who was a brother of Onias, was deprived of the High Priesthood by the King who was angry with him, and who gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Jason, but Onias was called Menelaus."

This passage as recorded by Josephus has been pointed out by many scholars as being spurious. Moreover, we know from the second Book of Maccabees that Menelaus was not a son of the High Priest Simon II nor a brother to the High Priest Onias III. Furthermore it would be too improbable to believe that Simon had two sons by the name of Onias.

This statement that the High Priest Onias, Jason, Onias-Menelaus, were brothers is reported again in Book XIII, where Josephus says that, when Onias IV, son of Onias III, saw that his uncle Onias-Menelaus was killed and the priesthood given to Alchimus, he went to Egypt. In Book XV, Josephus likewise says that Antiochus IV took away the priesthood from Jason and gave it to his brother Onias-Menelaus. From these passages we may conclude that Josephus adheres to his story that Onias III, Jason, Onias-Menelaus, were brothers; a story which, of course, contradicts the second book of Maccabees.

The real relationship between Onias, Jason, and Onias-Meuelans can be established from Book XX. In Book XX, 10, 1, Josephus records that when Antiochus V, killed Menelaus and gave the priesthood to Alchimus, the son of Onias III, who was an *έξαδελφος* of Onias-Menelaus, fled to Egypt. This word *έξαδελφος* is usually translated as nephew. It is used by Josephus only once in this connection. In the Book of Tobit *έξαδελφος* is found twice. The Vulgate translated *έξαδελφος* as *consobrinus*—cousin. From internal evidence of the Book of Tobit we may safely assume that the word *έξαδελφος* does not mean nephew, but a relation. The Latin translation of Josephus likewise translates the word *έξαδελφος* by *patruelis*, which has also the meaning of cousin—relation. Thus we can say from Book XX that Onias-Menelaus was related to the High Priest Onias III. If we bear in mind that Joseph was the grandson of the High Priest Simon I and that Simon II similarly was the grandson of Simon I, we understand that the children of Onias III, the son of Simon II, and the children of Joseph, Onias-Menelaus were related.

The confusion that results from the seemingly contradictory facts of Josephus arises, I believe, because of the peculiar method

that Josephus used in his writing. Josephus was not a scientific historian in the sense in which we use it. In consequence, for one account he often uses one source, while for another account he uses a different source, without seeming awareness that these sources might contradict each other. For his Book XX, Josephus used a different source from the one he utilized for his Book XII and XIII. Therefore, when he said that Onias-Menelaus was a cousin to Onias III, we can see that he does not depend on the same source which he used in Book XII.

Another instance where we can see that Josephus used a different source for Book XX may be found in relation to the High Priesthood and Judas Maccabeus. In Book XII Josephus says that Judas Maccabeus held the position of High Priest for four years; but, in Book XX, where he gives the list of the High Priests he does not include Judas among them. He makes out Jonathan to be the first High Priest of the Hasmonean family. Thus, there is no question in my mind that Josephus used different sources for his *magnum opus* "Antiquities." Thus we can explain that his statements vary and even contradict each other, as his sources varied and contradicted each other. From this point of view, the theory that Josephus used "ghost writers" cannot be held.

It is not surprising that we find the same names given to the children of Simon and the children of Joseph. They had a common ancestry. As Simon had a son Onias, so did Joseph, though the latter went by the Greek name Menelaus, while the brother of Menelaus was Simon, so named after his great-grandfather, Simon. His step-brother who went by the Greek name Hyrcanus was most likely called Tobias in Hebrew, after his grandfather. (Comp. Clermont-Ganneau, see note 65.) Because they had common names Josephus confused them, and thought they were brothers.

There is even a possibility that the Greek source which was used by Josephus for Antiquities XII—where he says that Jason and Onias-Menelaus were brothers ἀδελφός already had a scribal error. The manuscript in reality had ἐξἀδελφος and a scribe, instead of writing ἐξἀδελφος wrote the word ἀδελφός.

Therefore, Josephus using a manuscript in which this scribal error occurred, said they were brothers.

That Onias-Menelaus was High Priest may be deduced from the second Book of Maccabees. The author of this book would not fail to mention the fact that Menelaus, who had been appointed to the High Priesthood by Antiochus IV, was not a priest. We can be sure of this because we know that he pictures Menelaus and the Hellenistic party in very dark colors; he does not refrain from hurling any accusations against them; and attributes the grievous calamity which befell the Jews and the Jewish religion to them. Moreover, we know that in the case of Jason who was the brother of the High Priest Oinas III, when he was appointed High Priest by King Antiochus, the author of the second Book of Maccabees does not hesitate to revile Jason in these words: "thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless Jason—no High Priest he!" Similarly, he would not have spared Menelaus, if Menelaus had not been a scion of the priestly family.

APPENDIX D

THE LETTERS OF LYSIAS AND ANTIOCHUS TO THE JEWS

Many scholars have questioned the genuineness of the letters of Lysias and Antiochus to the Jews as found in II Macc. XI, 17-33, due to seeming chronological contradictions. Some were of the opinion that there was only one expedition by Lysias against Judas, while others were of the opinion that the purification of the Temple took place in Kislev (December) 164. (See Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* II, p. 210-211; W. Kolbe, *Beiträge zur Syrischen und Judischen Geschichte*, p. 926; Laqueur, *Kritische Untersuchungen zum II Makkabäerbuch*; Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabaerbücher*, *Hermes* 1900; Idem. *Gesch. der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten* III; E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Appendix J; Unger, *Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbucher*, Chap. V; Bickermann, Pauly-Wissowa, XIV, article—Makkabäerbücher).

It seems, however, that the entire difficulty which the scholars have found in the letters is due to their conception that there is a

chronological contradiction between I Macc. and II Macc., but as we have endeavored to show there is no chronological contradiction between these two (*Megillat Taanit*, Chap. 2, 3, 4). The author of Book I counts the Seleucidean era from the fall of 312 as the year Two, while the author of II Macc. counts the Seleucidean era from the fall of the year 312 as year One. Therefore what would be in book I, 149, would correspond to 148 in Macc. II. As to the date of the death of Antiochus IV, Niese (*Geschichte* 218, Note 7) quite rightly pointed out that he died at the beginning of the winter of 165-4, which corresponds to 149 A. S., as given in I Macc. and to 148 A. S. II Macc. (According to Josephus, *Ant.* XII, Antiochus IV died in 149 A. S. Josephus in this particular instance used as his source I Macc. since he does not append the Olymp. date).

As to Lysias' expedition, we may conclude from both books of Macc. that there were two expeditions. Before Antiochus left for Persia in the year 147 A. S. in the summer of 166 B.C.E., he commanded Lysias to quell the insurrection in Judea. Lysias, however, did not go in person to fight Judas, but sent two generals, evidently in the same year 166 B.C.E. (I Macc. III, 37), who were defeated by Judas. In the following year, 148 A. S., in the summer of 165, Lysias himself marched to the south of Judea (I Macc. IV, 28). According to II Macc. (XI and XIII) the two expeditions of Lysias took place after the cleansing of the Temple. I believe that it is obvious that the expedition of Lysias could not have been delayed until after the death of Antioch IV, and after the purification of the Temple, after the succession of Antiochus V. It is certainly inconceivable that Lysias would delay his expedition for an interval of two years, and meanwhile give the insurgents the opportunity to unite their forces. Furthermore, if the first expedition belonged to Antiochus V, it would be strange that the name of Antiochus V, should not be mentioned in this expedition, as he does figure in the second campaign. The reference to Lysias as being in sole control of this expedition can be only explained when it took place in the reign of Antiochus IV, while the latter was in Persia. From this we may safely conclude that the expedition of Lysias took place

in the summer of 148 A. S. (165). During this campaign of Lysias he received word from Persia that Antiochus died (in the early part of the winter of 165, 149 A. S.), and Philip was named Regent. Lysias thought it was more advisable for him to make peace with Judas and to return to Antioch.

Lysias wrote a letter to the Jews telling them that he had received the Jewish plenipotentiaries, John and Absalom, and told them that the petition had been laid before the king and he agreed to all that could be granted. This letter was signed in the year 148 A. S. and on the 24th of the month Dioscurus. the month Dioscurus is not known to us. It most probably refers to the month Dius and corresponds to November (The Pshitta has in place of Dioscurus the 2nd Tishri). Then follows the letter of King Antiochus V to Lysias in which he says "Now that our father had passed over to the gods, it is our pleasure that the subjects of the realm should live undisturbed . . . as for our Jewish subjects . . . it is our will therefore that this nation also shall not be disturbed and we have decided to give them back their Temple and to permit them to live after the manner of their ancestors." This letter is a rescript from Antiochus V (the government) to Lysias, granting religious liberty to the Jewish people. It has no date but the date is most likely the same as the first. Then Judas entered Jerusalem in the month Apellaeus December (which follows Dius) in the year 165, and purified the Temple.

These two communications were not addressed to Judas, but to the Jewish people, as Lysias did not recognize him as the representative of the Jews. The third letter king Antiochus V addresses to the *gerusia* in which he says: "Menelaus has informed us of your desire to return home . . . Those Jews then who return home up to the 30th day of Xanthicus shall have our friendship with full permission to use their own food and to observe their own laws." This letter is dated the fifteenth day of Xanthicus, 148, i. e. April 164 B.C.E. In it King Antiochus V gives the insurgents the right to return home, which was done upon the request of Menelaus, who was still the representative of the Jews.

APPENDIX E

דמאי **δῆμοι**

Professor Montgomery, in his note "The Etymology of **דמאי**" published in the October number of the *J.Q.R.* 1932, takes exception to my definition of the word **דמאי** as a Greek word **δῆμος** which means common people—Am haarez. He proceeds to say "Now in the first place **δῆμος** (the plural would not have been used as the base) should give **δῆμος**." Again he says "The semantic development of **δῆμος** into 'doubt' would be, to say the least, most unlikely." He believes "the origin of the technical meaning of **דמאי** can be explained as a genuine Semitic development. The root is **דמָא** 'be like,' which has developed into the meaning of the 'doubtful'."

I did not say (*J.Q.R.* 1932) that the word **דמאי** is derived from the word **δῆμος**. What I maintained was: the word **דמאי** is the Greek word **δῆμοι**, as the word **פרוסבל** is the Greek word **προσβολη**. To support my contention, I have shown on p. 60 that the word **דמאי** is on a par with Am haarez. Furthermore, the word **דמאי** in the tannaitic literature occurs only in reference to the fruit belonging to the Am haarez—farmer. This, I believe, confirms my theory, as to the etymology of the word .

Professor Montgomery's definition of the word **דמאי** as meaning "doubtful" is not borne out by the texts of the tannaitic literature. The word **דמאי** in the general sense of "doubt" never occurs in the entire tannaitic literature. The word **ספָק** is used. If we should assume that the word **דמאי** is derived from the root **דמָא** "be like," which later developed into the meaning of "doubtful," we fail to understand why the word **דמאי** does not appear in the entire tannaitic literature in the sense of "doubt" as a synonym of **ספָק**. The word **דמאי** is used only in the sense of *doubt* when referring to the produce of the farmer. This derivation can readily be explained. The rabbis were in doubt as to whether the Am haarez—the farmer—gave his Tithe. Therefore, John Hyrcanus decreed upon the demoi **נור על הדמאי**; namely that all who purchased from the Am haarez must set aside the Tithe, for perhaps it may not have been given before. Because of this

“doubt” the word then received the connotation of doubt in the Talmud, in reference to the produce of the farmer.

Likewise, the contention that the word **דמאי** is the aramaic form of the word **דמע** a mixture, is untenable. As the word **דמאי** is used in the sense of doubtful when referring to the produce of the Am haarez in opposition to the word **ודאי** certainty; while the word **דמע** is never used in the sense of doubt. Comp. also Ket. 56b, וראי דבריהם עבדו רבנן חיזוק ספק דבריהם לא עבדו רבנן **דמאי רבע אמר בדמאי הקלן**. **דמאי רבע עירוב** the word. See also the word **דמאי רבע אמר בדמאי הקלן**.

In my article I pointed out that the Baraita Shab, p. 32 **הלכות בריתם** הדרש תרומות ומעשרות הן הן נופי הורה ונמסרו לעמי הארץ proves that the word Am haarez in the early tannaic literature has the meaning of a farmer. The text in the Talmud. Jer., Shab. p. 5b has a different reading of this Baraita. **הלכות בריתם והכשרות הן הן נופי הלהבות...ונמסרו לע"ה**. To my mind it is unquestionable that the reading of the Tal. Jer. was altered by later authorities and this is evidenced by the text of the Tal. Jer.

Obviously the compilers of the Pal. Tal. thought that the word Am haarez has the meaning of ignorant. The Baraita says that **מעשרות** **תרומות** and **מעשרות** were entrusted to the Am haarez. The compilers who were well aware, from many passages of the Talmud, that the Am haarez were not entrusted with **מעשרות** and knowing that the Am haarez were only entrusted with **הקדש, חטאות, והכשרות** (comp. Hag. III, 6, Oh. V, 5 Mach. VI, 3) therefore changed the text from **הקדש חטאות, והכשרות** to **הקדש תרומות ומעשרות**. The word **נמסרו** however has not the meaning of “entrusted” but “transmitted,” and the word *Am haarez* means *farmer*. The meaning of this Baraita is quite clear. The laws of **הקדש תרומות** and **מעשרות** which are agrarian are transmitted to the *Am haarez*, the *farmer*.

APPENDIX F

THE JEWISH CALENDAR OF THE PRE-MACCABEAN PERIOD

The calendar which was used by the Jews before the Hellenistic period was a solar one. They, as well as the ancient Greeks, believed that the solar year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days,¹ divided into fifty-two weeks, and comprised twelve months, each *hodesh* containing thirty days. The word *hodesh* means new, probably referring to the new moon, although the months were no longer lunar months. It is worthwhile noting that the same inconsistency is found in our present usage, as when we say the months July and August, although the word "month" is from the root moon, while our months are not named according to the moon. A more striking parallel is found in the Russian calendar, a solar one, where the word for month, *mesatz*, is also the word for moon. Likewise the Greek word *μήν* has the meaning of month and of moon.

Each month consisted of thirty days. Twelve times thirty make three hundred and sixty. They therefore added a special day every three months—in the first month, the fourth month, the seventh month, and the tenth month (comp. *Jubilees* 6:23, 27, 30; *Enoch* 75, 1). The reason for having the four days divided in this order is that the Jews wanted to have the holidays fall on the same day of the week as when they were originally instituted. That is to say, the Spring holiday, Passover, should always fall on a Sunday, and the Autumn holiday, the Feast

¹ The calendar which was used by the early Hebrews was a lunar one. This is indicated by the word for month, which is *Jerach*, and it derived from the word *Iorach* which means moon. This calendar was calculated according to the lunar system of the neighbors of the Hebrews, the Phoenicians. The moon's phases are more easily observed by primitive peoples than the positions of the stars, or the still more difficult observations of the equinoxes and solstices. The word *Jerach* appears in the Bible only a few times. In the first Book of Kings, the months *Jerach Ziv*, *Jerach Ethanim*, and *Jerach Bul* are mentioned, but the editor adds that these are the second month, the seventh month, and the eighth month, respectively. From this we can conclude that *Ziv*, *Ethanim* and *Bul*, were no longer familiar to the Jews at the period of the compilation of the Book of Kings.

of Tabernacles, also on a Sunday. The early Greeks and the Egyptians, however, added five days every year at the close of the year. These five days were called by the Copts the *little month*, and by the Greeks the *intercalated month*.

The year was still short one day. To remedy this there was instituted a cycle of forty-nine years. After seven Sabbatical cycles: i. e., forty-nine years, on the fiftieth year, between the Day of Atonement and the Festival of Succot, forty-nine days were added. These forty-nine days were called a *Jubilee year*. When the slaves were to be set free, the land which had been sold was to be returned to the original owners, and liberty was to be proclaimed throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Hence the Jubilee year was instituted for the purpose of adding the forty-nine days of which the calendar was by this time short. This Jubilee year was announced and proclaimed on the Day of Atonement and began the Sunday after the great fast. (That the Jubilee year consisted merely of forty-nine days and was not a full year I tried to establish in my essay: Notes Relatives au Calendrier Juif, *R. É. J.* 1930).

The author of the book of Jubilees who lays much stress on the observance of the Jubilee year counts the Jubilee cycle only forty-nine years, and not fifty as is stated in Leviticus. Furthermore, the author of Jubilees counts three hundred and sixty-four days in a year, and not three hundred and sixty-five, as was generally known among the peoples. This can be explained only if we will assume that the day which was lacking every year was added after forty-nine years as a Jubilee year. (This assumption, that the author of Jubilees counted three hundred sixty-four days a year, will dispose of the theory that this book was written between the year 135 and 105 B. C. E., as the year at that time was already established as consisting of three hundred sixty-five and a quarter days).

This solar calendar was used by the Jews before the Exile. After the return from Babylon, they perceived that the calendar was not only a complicated one, requiring the addition of a day every three months, and forty-nine days at the end of forty-nine years, but also an imperfect one, since the year does not have three hundred sixty-five days as they first thought, but three

hundred sixty-five and a quarter.² They, accordingly, changed their calendar from a solar one to a lunar-solar, in which the months were reckoned according to the moon, and the holidays according to the sun. The year consisted of twelve months, alternating twenty-nine and thirty days. (They also introduced names for the months, which they had learned from the Babylonians. The months were no more called by numbers but by names; like Nisan, Iyar, Sivan, etc.).³

In order to adjust the lunar months to the solar year, which was short eleven days and a quarter, they intercalated three months every eight years consisting of thirty days each. (Eight times eleven and a quarter make ninety; three times thirty make ninety).⁴ By this method the Jews kept the festivals in the proper season of the year; Passover after the *vernal equinox*, and the Festival of Tabernacles after the *autumn equinox*.

With the change of the calendar from a solar to a lunar-solar, the forty-nine days which were added every forty-nine years, and were a Jubilee year, disappeared entirely. And consequently the laws concerned with the institution of the Jubilee year also disappeared.⁵ The sages interpreted the laws which were found in the Bible in reference to the Jubilee year as referring only to the period when all the twelve tribes were in Palestine, but not after the exile of the ten tribes.

This change of the calendar and the disappearance of the Jubilee year gave rise to great opposition. The author of the

² According to Strabo XVII, the Greeks learned from the Chaldaeans that the solar year consisted of three hundred sixty-five and a quarter days. Comp. also Horodotus II.

³ These names of the months appear only in the post-Exilic literature. Whenever the names of the months are given in the Book of Esther and Zechariah, the editors add respectively, that this is the first month, the ninth, the twelfth, etc. In the same manner, as we have noticed before, when the month of *Ziv* was given in the Book of Kings, the editor adds, "that is, the second month." As *Ziv* was no more known and had to be explained, so in the post-Exilic period *Nisan* had not as yet come into popular usage, and the editor had to explain which month, by number, was meant.

⁴ See The extant writings of Julius Africanus, XVII, 8.

⁵ The Jubilee year only existed in the Jewish calendar and was never actually observed, as economic conditions made it impossible for the Jews to comply with the laws and customs connected with the Jubilee year.

book of Jubilees protested very much against this innovation and says: "For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the new moon—how (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees."

The Rabbis—Pharisees, to demonstrate their point of view made a law that anyone who witnessed the birth of the new moon should go to Jerusalem to the Temple, and to testify before the court, and on their testimony, the court in the Temple proclaimed the "new moon." Furthermore, they maintained that even if the birth of the new moon was witnessed on the Sabbath, the Jews had the right to travel on the Sabbath to go to Jerusalem to testify before the court, whereas otherwise travel on the Sabbath was prohibited, and according to the old Halaka was punishable by death (Jubilees 6). This is the origin of the institution of the consecration of the new moon, קדוש החודש.

The Pharisees always used this method to demonstrate their point of view when the Sadducees or other parties opposed them. according to the Pharisees, if a person became unclean, washing of the body was sufficient to make the person pure again, and it was not necessary for him to wait until sunset. The Sadducees were strongly opposed to this (see above p. 47). In order to demonstrate their point of view against the Sadducees, the Pharisees actually defiled the priest who had to burn the Red Heifer, and a basin of water was placed nearby, and the priest was told to wash his body and burn the Red Heifer. This was done to disprove the contention of the Sadducees that, if any person became defiled, he must wait until sunset, and merely washing the body was not sufficient to make him pure. *ובית טבילה היה שם . . . מפני הצדוקים שלא ידו אומרים במעורבי שם היה נעשית.* As the Red Heifer was always burned with great ceremony the Pharisees took this occasion to demonstrate their point of view.

With the change of the calendar from the solar system to the lunar-solar, the New Year was also changed. Previously the new year began with the Spring, in the month *Abiv*. With this change, the new year was shifted from the Spring to the Fall and began with the month *Tishri*. The reason for this change was as follows: The neighboring nations had their New Year in the Autumn; and secondly, the Jews being largely an agricultural people, were more in the spirit of beginning the New Year in the Autumn after the crops had been gathered, and particularly as the Sabbatical year began with *Tishri*, it was more practical to make this year coincide with the regular year.

As to the Biblical phrase that the month *Abiv*, that is the month of the Spring, is the first month of the year, the Pharisees interpreted it to mean that the month *Abiv* (*Nisan*) comes first in the counting of the months, but that the civil year actually begins in the fall with the month of *Tishri* באתחר בתשרי ראש השנה ר' ניסן ראש השנה לחדים לשנים באתחר ניסן ראש השנה לחדים. Comp. Josephus Ant. 1, III, "Xanticus should be the first month of their festival he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying and other ordinary affairs."

In accordance with the spirit of Judaism, the rabbis never abrogated any law or custom which existed among the Jews, since Jewish law, because of its divine nature, could not be abrogated. When the need arose to change the law, they used interpretation and modification to deduce the new law to meet life's demands, in the spirit of Judaism.

Some students of the Bible maintain that the Jews had once the tenth of *Tishri*, which is now the Day of Atonement, as the New Year. This theory they based on Ezekiel 40, 1 בראש השנה בעשר לחדש. However, this theory is without foundation. The phrase בראש השנה does not refer at all to the tenth of *Tishri* as the New Year. Ezekiel had in mind a New Year of an era; that is to say; "In the five and twentieth year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, on the tenth day of the month" בעשרים חמיש שנה למלותנו בראש השנה בעשר לחדש, he refers to the tenth of *Ab*, which begins a New Year of the era of the destruction of the Temple, which was burned in the fifth month (*Ab*) on the tenth day thereof. Comp. Symmachus a. l. where he has 'Εν τῷ πέμπτῳ

μηνή on the tenth day of the fifth month. Comp. Jeremiah 52, 12
בחדש החמישי בעשר לחידש.

The Jews, as other nations, reckoned their chronology according to different eras; to the Exodus, to the Construction of the Temple, and also to the Destruction of the Temple. (Comp. Y. R. H. 56b) ... מכאן שמונין חדשים ליצאת מצרים אין לי חדשים שנים מנין . . . משובנה הבית התחילה מונין לבניינו . . . לא זכו למנות לבניינו התחילה למנות לחרבנו בעשרים וחמש שנה לנלחנו בראש השנה בעשר לחידש.

In the same way we in America say in such and such a year of our Independence, this does not mean to say that the Fourth of July is a New Year, but the Fourth of July is the New Year of the era of Independence. In the same way it was used among the Jews of the Second Commonwealth. The New Year always began in the fall with the month of *Tishri*, and so was used by the authors of the books of Maccabees, and the Jews never had any other New Year. When the Jews used the solar year, the New Year began with the Spring; after the change to the lunar-solar, it began with *Tishri*.

Such was the state of the Jewish calendar in the pre-Maccabean period. As to the calendar of the later period of the Second Commonwealth, I shall give that in the following volume.

APPENDIX G
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

320 B. C. E. Ptolemy I invaded Palestine and captured Jerusalem.

242 Joseph the son of Tobiah went to Alexandria to plead for the Jews before Ptolemy III Euergetes.

230-27 Joseph was appointed tax collector of Coelo-Syria.

210-9 A son was born to Ptolemy Philapatar. Hyrcanus (Tobiah) the youngest son of Joseph was delegated to attend the birthday celebration given at the court.

208-5 Joseph died, having been tax collector of Coelo-Syria for twenty-two years.

202 Simon the Just headed a delegation of Elders (Gurusia) to welcome Antiochus III to Jerusalem.

187 Hyrcanus was compelled to leave Jerusalem by the pro-Antiochus party.

175 Hyrcanus committed suicide.

175-74 Jason-Joshua the son of Simon the Just was appointed High Priest.

171 Menelaus-Onias the son of Joseph was driven from Jerusalem by Jason.

171-170 Antiochus IV Epiphanes appointed Menelaus-Onias High Priest to succeed Jason.

171-170 Lysimachus the son of Joseph was assassinated by the populace of Jerusalem.

170 Antiochus Epiphanes invaded Jerusalem.

168 Antiochus invaded Jerusalem for the second time and abolished the Daily Sacrifices.

168 On the 25 of Kislev the statue of Zeus was set up in the Temple.

168 The Temple of Egypt was built by Onias III.

167 Mattathias of the family of the Hasmoneans instigated the Jews to revolt against Syrians.

165 On the 24th of the month Dioscurus (Diuis) Heshvan, Lysias granted religious freedom to the Jews.

165 On the 25th of the month Apellaeus-Kislev, the Temple was rededicated and the Festival of Hanukkah was instituted.

163 In the month of Shebat, Antiochus V made peace with the national party headed by Judas Maccabeus.

163 Menelaus-Onias was executed by Antiochus V Eupator.

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